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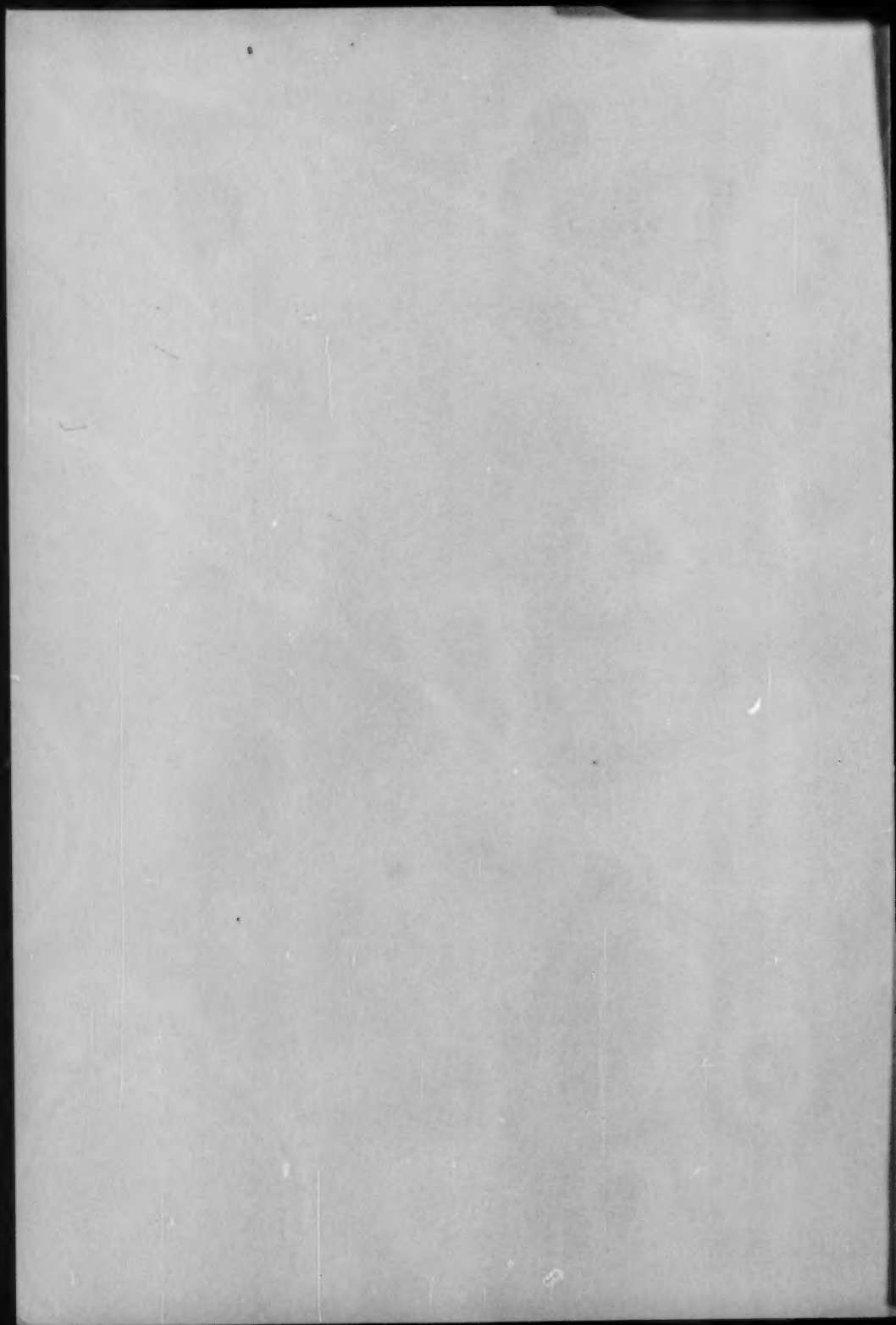
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THEODORE URICH

Annual Convention Program

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Businessmen in Foreign Policy

DAVID S. MCLELLAN *and*

CHARLES E. WOODHOUSE

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THE PARTICIPATION OF BUSINESSMEN in the higher echelons of the United States government has been receiving much notice in recent years. During the 1952 Presidential campaign Mr. Eisenhower promised to bring to the costly operations of government "the help of business and professional examiners who can speak for the Chief Executive with expert knowledge."¹ This he has proceeded to do in the almost pathetic belief that the Executive branch of the government can be run along the neat organizational lines of a modern corporation, with himself as chairman of the board.²

At the same time, systematic investigation of the participation of businessmen in government has led to questions about the effects of this trend. C. Wright Mills in particular has stressed the emergence of a "power elite," unified by "men of the higher legal and financial type from the great law factories and investment firms, who are almost professional go-betweens of economic, political and military affairs."³ It therefore becomes pertinent to ask whether the avowed intention of the Eisenhower administration to utilize the talents of businessmen has enhanced their power in the "higher circles" of government; and, if so, what difference this has made in the conduct of public affairs. It is the purpose of this paper to show how these questions may be answered, in part, by examining the participation of businessmen in posts connected with the conduct of foreign relations. First it will be shown to what extent the proportion of businessmen in these posts has increased under the Eisenhower administration. Second, this change will be examined in terms of its implications for the conduct of foreign relations, insofar as the background and perspective of businessmen may differ from that of the officials who have been displaced.

As a basis for measuring the historical trend, we selected those posts in

¹ Speech delivered in Troy, New York, and reported in *The New York Times*, October 10, 1952.

² Marian D. Irish, "The Organization Man in the Presidency," *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 20 (1958), pp. 259-277.

³ C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 289.

the highest civilian echelons of the Executive branch of the federal government where decisions are made which have an important bearing on the conduct of foreign relations. Choosing the years 1938, 1948, and 1956 as representative of the last three Presidential administrations at midcareer, we then classified the officials occupying these posts in those years by occupational background. The posts examined are as follows:

Executive Office of the President

The Assistant to the President¹ and Deputy Assistant²
 Special Assistants and Consultants to the President¹
 Secretaries and Administrative Assistants to the President
 Special Consultants to the President²

Department of State

The Secretary and Under Secretary of State
 Deputy Under Secretaries of State²
 Assistant Secretaries of State³ for Areas, for International Organization, for Public Affairs, and for Congressional Relations
 Directors of the International Cooperation Administration, of the United States Information Agency²
 Representatives and Deputy Representatives to the United Nations and to the United Nations Councils¹
 Counselor
 Legal Assistant²

Department of Defense

The Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense¹
 The Secretaries of the Army, Navy; and Secretary of the Air Force¹
 Under Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force¹
 Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense¹

Treasury Department

The Secretary; the Under Secretary⁴
 Assistant to the Under Secretary²
 Director and Deputy Director, Bureau of the Budget
 Director of the Central Intelligence Agency²
 Secretary of the National Security Council¹
 Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission¹

¹ Added by 1948.

² Added by 1956.

³ Titles changed by 1956; in 1938, Chiefs; in 1948, Directors.

⁴ Title changed by 1956 from Assistant Secretary.

Over the period covered by this comparison, the number of these posts has increased markedly: from twenty-four in 1938 to fifty-six in 1948 and to seventy-five in 1956. This change has been accompanied by a notable shift in the occupational backgrounds represented. Data for this classification has been gathered from *Who's Who in America, Current Biography*, and the Department of State's Biographic Record. Classification has been determined according to the principal occupation which the person was engaged in prior to his entering government service. The percentage distribution of officials by occupational background, for each of the three years, is shown in Table 1.⁴

TABLE 1

Percentage Distribution by Occupational Background: 1938, 1948, 1956

Occupation	Percentage		
	1938	1948	1956
Business and finance	8	23	47
Law	21	20	29
Journalism	17	7	5
Education	21	18	5
Civil service	41	30	10
Military	8	2	4
	116*	100	100

* This total exceeds 100 because four men in this smaller sample have considerable experience in two professions. A more precise classification would set the percentage for law at 17, for journalism at 13, and for education at 13.

By all odds the most significant trend in the profile of foreign policy decision-makers is the importance assumed by business and financial figures. From a comparatively modest size (8 per cent) in 1938, business representation increased to 23 per cent in 1948 and to 47 per cent in 1956. When the representation from law for these years (21 per cent–20 per cent–29 per cent) is added to that from business and finance, the preponderance of representation from one sector of American society becomes quite striking. The individuals included in the business and financial category are without exception associated with large corporations, investment houses, and banks. In contrast to the growth of business representation, that of the professional civil servant, educator, and journalist has been drastically reduced. In 1938, 41 per cent of the top posts were manned by civil servants; in 1948, 30 per cent; by 1956 the representation of professional civil servants had been reduced to an astonishing 10 per cent.

⁴ Data presented in Tables 1–4 have been obtained from George Beattie, "Foreign Policy Decision-Makers" (senior thesis, University of California, Riverside, 1958).

The State Department affords a good example of what has happened to the professional civil servant. In 1938, all positions⁵ except that of the Secretary of State (Cordell Hull) were occupied by professional people, beginning with the Under Secretary of State, Sumner Welles. In 1948 foreign-service officers still shared the topmost posts with such noncareer men as General George C. Marshall (Secretary of State), Robert A. Lovett (Under Secretary of State), and Phillip C. Jessup (professor of law at Columbia). When General Marshall retired as Secretary of State he was replaced by Dean Acheson (law), who had had almost a decade of experience in the Department of State. This contrasts strongly with the composition of the foreign-policy leadership under the Eisenhower administration. Table 2, a comparative composition for 1948 and 1956 of the top State Department officials, reveals the distribution by occupational background.

TABLE 2

Comparative Composition by Occupational Background: 1948, 1956

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>1948</i>	<i>1956</i>
Business and finance	4	12
Law	5	7
Education	7*	1
Civil service	11	6
Military	1	0
Journalism	0	2
	28	28

* Includes Phillip Jessup, Willard Thorp, Dean Rusk, and Francis B. Sayre, all of whom had had a sustained professional connection with State Department and foreign affairs.

By 1956 a handful of career foreign-service officers retained positions within the top echelon of the State Department, but, comparatively speaking, the places of Charles Bohlen, John Peurifoy, Norman Armour, George Kennan, and Paul Nitze were occupied by businessmen and lawyers, e. g., Herbert Hoover, Jr., Herbert V. Prochnow, Walter S. Robertson, Robert R. Bowie, and John B. Hollister.

To understand more fully what this shift means it may help to examine the changing profile of the foreign policy decision-makers in the Executive branch according to their educational background and the region of their birth. These are shown in Tables 3 and 4.

The educational pattern among the decision-makers is comparatively consistent. Graduates of Ivy League colleges and state colleges are assuming an

⁵ Exclusive of ambassadorships, which are still very much the perquisite of wealth.

TABLE 3

Educational Background, Including Graduate Study

<i>Education</i>	<i>1938</i>	<i>Percentage 1948</i>	<i>1956</i>
State colleges (Michigan State, Ohio, etc.)	21	25	31
Ivy League colleges (Yale, Harvard, etc.)	33	40	45
Small colleges (Swarthmore, Haverford, etc.)	21	30	19
Military colleges (West Point, Annapolis, etc.)	8	3	4
No college	13	2	1
Private education	4	00	00
	100	100	100
<i>Graduate Study</i>			
Ivy League colleges	21	27	39
Other colleges	42	42	29
	63	69	68

TABLE 4

Percentage of Decision-Makers by Place of Birth

<i>Region</i>	<i>1938</i>	<i>Percentage 1948</i>	<i>1956</i>
East	46	48	34
South	37	34	23
Midwest	13	18	35
West	00	00	8
Foreign	4	00	00
	100	100	100

increasing importance, whereas those with no college training have decreased drastically. A surprising proportion of the decision-makers have had graduate study, though few have attained the Ph.D. level. The Ivy League has been increasing in importance as a finishing school for young lawyers and executives.

When the regional distribution of these officials, according to place of birth, is compared for the three periods, the relative importance of the East and the South appears to be declining. More and more of the prominent figures in the administration of foreign policy appear to be drawn from the inland area of the Middle West. It is tempting to hypothesize that some of the moralism, rigidity, and "business first" attitude that has characterized the Eisenhower foreign policy reflects the presence of such influential Midwest-

erners in the Cabinet and other high posts as George Humphrey and Charles Wilson.⁶ These individuals and others who figure in our sample appear to have made their careers and fortunes within the inland basin bounded by the Appalachians and the Rockies. They have rarely, if ever, viewed or experienced the outside world except as an extension of their industrial and banking careers, and they seem to have inherited the conviction that deficit spending, boondoggling, and internationalism go together. Certainly they contrast strongly with such prominent Easterners as Dean Acheson, James Forrestal, Averell Harriman, Robert A. Lovett, and John McCloy and with Southerners such as George C. Marshall and Will Clayton, who directed Truman's foreign policy.

Whatever the talents of the new group from business may be, and they are undoubtedly very real, one wonders if they are appropriate to the mastery of international politics. One looks in vain for a suggestion of insight or subtlety in the writings and speeches of bankers like Herbert Prochnow when, as Deputy Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, he declares:

In this critical period, world leadership is clearly in our hands. *Our machine civilization is irresistibly pushing its way into every corner of this world.* At a thousand crossroads in the world today there are radios, soap, cornflakes, fountain pens, batteries, elevators, road machinery, tractors, automobiles, trucks and refrigerators that came from American factories. Our machines are weaving the economic life of the world into a single fabric. *Perhaps America's businessmen and not her politicians hold the key to the solution of the world's problems.* Perhaps the 140,000 people that are added every week to the population of Southeast Asia and the two-thirds of the world's people with an income of only \$30 to \$150 per person per year, will eventually be fed, clothed, and sheltered through the genius of American business leadership.⁷

Indirectly the employment of so many nonprofessionals in those posts to which the professionals are entitled by virtue of training and experience seems likely to hinder the recruitment and retention of able young men and women. Such remedies for the presumed inadequacies of the State Department as the recruitment of business executives and bankers only promise to weaken our diplomacy in the long run.

Whatever the objective consequences of their presence, the emergence of businessmen and financiers in the highest echelons of government and foreign policy reflects an important change in American society. Since the be-

⁶ When President-elect Eisenhower asked Wilson what he thought about permitting the European nations to increase their trade with the Soviet sphere, Wilson replied: "I may be a little old-fashioned but I don't believe in selling firearms to the Indians."—Robert J. Donovan, *Eisenhower—The Inside Story* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1956), p. 10.

⁷ "The International Situation, Budgets and Trade Must Balance," in *Vital Speeches of the Day* (May 1, 1953), pp. 444-445. (Italics added.)

ginning of the New Deal the distinction between the political and economic spheres has diminished. As an arena for economic decisions the federal government has become at least as important as Wall Street. The transfer of power from Wall Street to Washington has been brought about by the enormous growth, both domestic and international, of American power. The great Depression determined once and for all that America's economic power would be regulated by the federal government in Washington. The importance of politics has also increased with America's emergence as a creditor nation, with the relative decline of the London money market and with the problems connected with the "Cold War" and the revolt of the underdeveloped countries. The greatly augmented importance of political decisions has represented a loss of power and control for the business community, and its spokesmen seem anxious to recoup this power by investing the center of political authority with business personnel.

The Second World War facilitated this process by giving the businessmen's entry into government service an aura of patriotism. What was fashionable soon became profitable. A definite liaison between big business and the military is reflected in the growing number of admirals and generals who sit on the boards of various private corporations.⁸ The private motives which so obviously brought James Forrestal to abandon the presidency of the Wall Street investment house of Dillon, Read and enter the New Deal administration as one of Franklin Roosevelt's special administrative assistants⁹ has given way to a concerted effort within the business community to see its representatives established within the decision-making apparatus of the federal government. President Eisenhower's unabashed admiration for corporation executives has undoubtedly been conducive to the leading role that business executives and financiers have assumed in the highest posts of the Executive branch and foreign policy.

Although the precise nature of their influence on the government has yet to be investigated, the presence of businessmen in the Eisenhower administration has been marked by a tendency to view government as something to be manipulated according to the interests and desiderata of business.¹⁰ For example, the fetish of minimal government spending and of the balanced budget have been powerful determinants of the Eisenhower administration's

⁸ See Leonard Reissman, "Life Careers, Power and the Professions," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 21 (1956), pp. 215-221.

⁹ *The Forrestal Diaries*, ed. Walter Millis (New York, The Viking Press, 1951), p. xx.

¹⁰ For the expression of a complementary attitude, see the recent study *Businessmen in Government* (Washington, Harvard Business School Club of Washington, D.C., 1958). The authors hold that businessmen, as beneficiaries of government, have a moral obligation to lend it their undisputed talents—as a temporary interlude in their pursuit of a business career and as a permanent means of insuring that government will be properly administered.

budgetary and monetary policies. Time and again the President has announced that defense and foreign-aid budgets could not be reduced without taking "reckless gambles" with the security of the free world, only to see his own minimal figures reduced and emasculated by decisions of Secretaries Humphrey and Wilson. Their influence has been unmistakable in imposing budgetary limitations which in turn have forced the administration into such ill-conceived strategic doctrine as massive retaliation ("more bang for a buck").¹¹

The dearth of new ideas, the near tragedy of the Nixon mission to Latin America, and the lack of political perspective on the various problems of the underdeveloped countries and the Cold War all seem to reflect the overwhelming preponderance of unimaginative and inexperienced people in high places. The United States may once again be at the point where it must decide whether the country is going to be run with the values and interests of only one group in mind. Whatever the decision, two conclusions appear obvious. The influence of government has assumed such an importance in recent American history that the business community cannot afford to be absent from its councils. But can the country afford to let business run the whole show? Secondly, the displacement of professional civil-service and foreign-service officers by businessmen and financiers brings a perspective to diplomacy and its handmaidens—the budget and the military—which merits the closest scrutiny.

¹¹ If anyone doubts this connection he will find ample substantiation in Donovan (*op. cit.*) and *Soldier: The Memoirs of Matthew B. Ridgway*, as told to Harold H. Martin (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1956).

The End of the First Republic of Austria

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ON MAY 15, 1955, the people of Vienna were dancing in the streets, trampling the carefully tended flower beds surrounding the Belvedere Palace and acclaiming hysterically the foreign ministers of France, Great Britain, the United States and the U.S.S.R., who had just agreed to restore the political independence of Austria. It was remarkably like another day in 1938 when those same Viennese accorded an equally tumultuous reception to Adolf Hitler, who had come to end that independence.

From 1918 to 1938 Austria had existed against her own will. At the end of the First World War the German-speaking rump of the old Habsburg monarchy had proclaimed its intention of joining the German republic. In 1931, Austria considered an economic union with Germany to help her survive the depression. In both cases allied opposition had stood in the way of union.

Hitler's advent in 1933 discouraged pan-German sentiment, particularly among Austria's Socialists. The assassination of Chancellor Dollfuss by members of the S.S. on July 25, 1934, committed the clerical right to a staunch defense of the country's independence. Hitler was forced to recognize that further attempts at violence would only create new and solid barriers between these two German nations. He decided that Austria would have to be absorbed gradually and peacefully. He appointed Franz von Papen minister to Austria and made him directly responsible to him rather than to the Foreign Office. The leaders of the July *Putsch* were removed from positions of leadership in the Austrian Nazi party.

In the spring of 1935, Hitler in a speech before the Reichstag acknowledged the inviolability of Austrian sovereignty. This gesture was followed by the so-called "gentleman's agreement" of July 11, 1936, designed to end the silent hostility that had prevailed since 1934. The Austrian government promised amnesty for the rebels of 1934 and to bring some of the leaders of

the National Opposition into the government.¹ Edmund Glaise von Horstenau, a vocal Pan-German, entered the cabinet, without portfolio at first, later as minister of the interior. An Austro-German working committee of six was created to assist in the execution of the agreement. In June, 1937, another representative of the National Opposition, Artur Seyss-Inquart, became Councillor of State, with the mission to "examine the conditions under which the national opposition could be enlisted to collaborate politically."²

The "gentleman's agreement" proved an unsatisfactory compromise. Unless Germany wanted to turn her back on Austria's Nazis, she could hardly live up to it. Unless Austria wanted to abet the growth of a movement known to be subversive, her government would have to limit the activities of Glaise von Horstenau and Seyss-Inquart to the point of ineffectiveness. Most important in this unequal contest was the fact that two of Hitler's closest associates continued to press for a summary *Anschluss*.

One of these men was Hermann Göring, by 1937 Prussian prime minister, chief of the *Luftwaffe* and manager of Germany's abortive experiment in planned economy. Göring believed that Austria's independence rested on German sufferance. In the autumn of 1937 he told a group of Austrian industrialists in Berlin that their country had in fact ceased to be independent and that they should not count on foreign help if Germany ever decided to march.³ Although Hitler reportedly considered Göring's views too extreme, he did not curb him. On the contrary, when at year's end von Papen made his periodic report on Austrian affairs to the Fuehrer, Göring was invited to be present.⁴

Another important figure in the *Anschluss* crisis was Wilhelm Keppler. An engineer and businessman, he joined the party in 1927, and five years later became Hitler's personal economic adviser.⁵ As was the case with many old party members, his career after 1933 was somewhat less than meteoric. In 1934 he was put in charge of raw-material procurement, but this task soon became part of Göring's responsibility as administrator of the four-year plan. Keppler was disappointed that Germany's economic mobilization had not been entrusted to him,⁶ but he was not left idle. In July, 1937, he went to Vienna as a member of a delegation charged with ironing out certain diffi-

¹ Deutsches Reich. Auswaertiges Amt, *Akten zur deutschen auswaertigen Politik, 1918-1945*, Serie D (Baden-Baden, 1950), Vol. I, pp. 231-233. Hereafter cited as *ADAP*.

² International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major Criminals before the International Military Tribunal* (Nuernberg, 1949), Vol. XV, p. 617. Hereafter cited as *IMT*.

³ Guido Zernatto, *Die Wahrheit ueber Oesterreich* (New York, 1939), p. 182.

⁴ *ADAP*, Vol. I, p. 106.

⁵ *Das deutsche Fuehrerlexikon 1934/35* (Berlin, 1935), p. 226.

⁶ Tribunal IV, *Case IX—Wilhelm Keppler*, Vol. VII, p. 59. Hereafter cited as *Keppler*.

culties arising from the 1936 agreement. At the conclusion of the conference Keppler did not return to Berlin with his colleagues, but went to Berchtesgaden to report to Hitler. The Fuehrer, apparently on the spur of the moment, appointed him his liaison man with the Austrian Nazi party.⁷ Hereafter he was to make frequent trips to the Austrian capital and report to a bewildering array of agencies, ranging from the Foreign Office to the Gestapo.⁸

In spite of the general atomization of responsibility in the area of foreign affairs, the German Foreign Office was by no means a passive by-stander in the absorption of the First Republic of Austria. Von Papen's direct wire to Hitler did not preclude his reporting to foreign minister Konstantin von Neurath, and his counselor of embassy, Stein, invariably and frequently addressed himself to the *Wilhelmstrasse*.⁹ Furthermore, Germany's diplomats did not shrink from making as vigorous a case for German interests in Austria as did Göring. On August 8, 1937, Neurath told the Austrian secretary of state for foreign affairs, Guido Schmidt, that the "economic difficulties of the Austrian people . . . could only be cured by a closer economic *Anschluss* with Germany."¹⁰ At the same time there was a perceptible stiffening of the German attitude on the Austrian question in discussions with third countries. While Hitler's "evolutionary solution" was presumably still the basic policy goal, there were frequent expressions of the view that Austro-German relations were not "a proper subject for international negotiations." Just before Christmas, Neurath told Étienne Flandin in Berlin that the Austrian question "would be settled by those concerned," adding that Germany "did not concede France the right of making it a subject of Franco-German negotiations."¹¹ Four weeks later the English ambassador, Sir Neville Henderson, was told that Germany would "not permit England to interfere in the settlement of our relations with Austria."¹² These statements, and the attitudes they reflected, contributed to an atmosphere of crisis and ill will, which by three distinct phases led to overt action in March of 1938.

First there were recurrent complaints from Seyss-Inquart that the Austrian government was not observing the July, 1936, agreement and that negotiations to implement it were not proceeding satisfactorily. At the same time, the Austrian Nazi party, distrustful of the agreement and of Seyss-Inquart, who had joined the party only recently, gave the Councillor of State little, if any, support. He therefore decided to resign his post. Keppler passed these

⁷ *ADAP*, Vol. I, p. 367.

⁸ *IMT*, Vol. XVI, pp. 160-161; *ADAP*, Vol. I, pp. 379-380, 385-386.

⁹ *IMT*, Vol. XVI, p. 316.

¹⁰ *ADAP*, Vol. I, p. 371.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 124.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 156.

complaints on to Göring, who instructed him to prevent Seyss-Inquart's resignation since it would also force Glaise-Horstenau to leave the government.¹³ Although Göring clearly emerges here as the *deus ex machina*, he was not yet in charge of the Austrian situation.

In January, 1938, Seyss-Inquart and von Papen met "accidentally" at Garmisch-Partenkirchen to discuss how to make the Austrian Nazi party more independent of German influence. According to the Austrian, they concluded that the necessity for a "clear decision" be urged on both Hitler and Schuschnigg. As they were conferring, an Austrian police raid on party headquarters in Vienna uncovered serious evidence of further Nazi subversion. Von Papen therefore lost no time in proposing a conference between Hitler and Schuschnigg, in the hope of preventing the deterioration of Austro-German relations.¹⁴ Before he could have received any reply he was recalled by Hitler, who, on February 4, 1938, in a reshuffling of military and civilian agencies, divested himself of a number of old-line conservatives in his government. Von Papen, undaunted, went to the lion's den and told Hitler that his recall at this time was deplorable since Schuschnigg had just expressed his willingness to meet Hitler and to "eliminate all differences between the two states." Hitler promptly sent him back to Vienna to initiate arrangements for such a meeting.¹⁵ Only then did von Papen seek Schuschnigg's consent by explaining to the Austrian that the February 4 events had weakened the Nazi regime in Germany and that "a certain success could be scored by the Austrian chancellor for a low price."¹⁶ The Austrian chancellor rose to the bait and it was agreed that the encounter should take place on February 12, 1938.

As it turned out, the fourth of February strengthened rather than weakened Hitler's position. The army had been put in its place, von Papen's old associate Neurath had been promoted to the innocuous presidency of the nonexistent secret cabinet council, and Ribbentrop became head of the Foreign Office. The party had won all along the line. The post in Vienna, too, was to be occupied by a reliable party man. Preparations for the meeting proceeded, however, without regard for personnel changes in Berlin. Here Keppler seemed to occupy a key position.¹⁷ He maintained constant contact with Austria's Nazis and saw to it that one of their leaders, Kajetan Muehlmann, was dispatched to Berchtesgaden in the night of February 11-12, to

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 402; *IMT*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 332-424, 254-255; Vol. XV, p. 619.

¹⁴ *ADAP*, Vol. I, p. 409.

¹⁵ *IMT*, Vol. XVI, p. 318.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

give Hitler advance information on the conference strategy to be pursued by the Austrian government.¹⁸

The second phase of the *Anschluss* drama begins with the Berchtesgaden meeting. This encounter was entirely dominated by Hitler. The minor participants were called only when the Fuehrer deemed their presence necessary to underscore a point. A morning meeting of two hours between the two chancellors largely consisted of assertions by the Fuehrer that he could blow Austria off the map any time he wanted to. In the afternoon the draft of a protocol was discussed primarily with Ribbentrop, whom Guido Schmidt later described as an "understanding and sensible partner in negotiations." Germany's new foreign minister was "not at all informed about the Austrian problem" and confined himself to the humble role of the technical assistant.¹⁹ Von Papen was also present, protesting, though without results, against Hitler's extreme demands.²⁰ A number of generals—Keitel, Sperrle, and Reichenau—were at the *Berghof* for no discernible reason. At Nuremberg, Göring—notably absent from the Berchtesgaden meeting—recalled Hitler's telling him later that they were to intimidate the Austrians with their martial bearing and "brutal exterior."²¹

After another brief tête-à-tête later in the afternoon it was agreed—if a term implying mutual consent is applicable to this one-sided encounter—that a one-sentence communique was to be issued at once, stating merely that a meeting had taken place. At the same time a treaty governing relations between the two countries was signed by Hitler, Ribbentrop, Schuschnigg, and Schmidt. The deadline for the enactment of its provisions by the Austrian government was set for February 15. Seyss-Inquart was to become chief of the Austrian security system. National Socialists were to be allowed to join Schuschnigg's "Fatherland Front." Political prisoners were to be released, some of them, however, with the proviso that they would move to Germany. Political and economic sanctions against National Socialists were to be ended forthwith. Close working relations between the general staffs, and integration of the two economies were to be effected shortly.²²

Another *détente* ensued. Austria was still unoccupied, but no longer independent. Again the German diplomatic campaign to convert Austria into a domestic problem went into high gear. Ribbentrop may have been poorly informed on Austrian affairs on February 12, but five days later he told the

¹⁸ Zernatto, *op. cit.*, pp. 197–204; *IMT*, Vol. XV, p. 619; XVI, pp. 89–91.

¹⁹ *IMT*, Vol. X, pp. 245, 325.

²⁰ Franz von Papen, *Memoirs* (London, 1952), pp. 414–415, 419–420; *IMT*, Vol. XVI, p. 318; Kurt von Schuschnigg, *Austrian Requiem* (New York, 1947), p. 22.

²¹ Werner Bross, *Gespräche mit Hermann Goering* . . . (Flensburg, 1950), pp. 69–70.

²² *ADAP*, Vol. I, pp. 423–424.

French ambassador that "in the protection of the interests and lives of her racial comrades, Germany would not shrink from the direst consequences, not even a European war."²³ He repeated this statement, in a milder form, to the British ambassador the next day.²⁴ The policies which the foreign minister was defending so belligerently were, of course, neither devised nor executed by him. A communication from Keppler to Ribbentrop, dated February 19, 1938, clearly indicates that the task of speaking for Germany in Vienna was now firmly in the hands of Hitler's former economic plenipotentiary.²⁵

Yet Ribbentrop's tough talk did not necessarily reflect a tough policy. Hitler, of course, continued to violate all agreements by his continuous meddling in the affairs of the Austrian party. But he seems to have done this to restrain the extremists. Shortly after the Berchtesgaden meeting, he replaced Captain Leopold with Major Klausner, the *Gauleiter* of Carylthia, primarily to prevent the sabotaging of Seyss-Inquart's activities as minister of security. At the same time he told Ribbentrop, Keppler, and a group of recently exiled "Leopoldites" that he "proposed leading the party in a different direction in the Austrian question, for this question could never be solved by revolution." He added that he did not "desire a solution by force at the present moment, if it could in any way be avoided, as the political danger from abroad would decrease from year to year and Germany's military power would increase at the same time." Ribbentrop's request to leave the Austrian question in Keppler's hands was granted by Hitler, who added that Keppler should visit Austria from time to time "to secure the carrying out of the agreement [of February 12]."²⁶ The same paradox reappears. On the one hand there was the injunction against the use of violence. On the other hand a German official, one outside the diplomatic jurisdiction, was charged with the representation of German interests in the shaping of Austrian domestic policies. Basically, the rules of the game applied to everyone but Hitler. He called the shots at his pleasure.

Keppler, on his first—and last—trip of inspection, from March 3 to 6, contacted party members and talked with Schmidt and Schuschnigg. He pressed the former to speed the legalization of the Nazi party, to make greater economic concessions, and to end the flight of Austrian capital from Vienna, a notable consequence of the Berchtesgaden meeting. While neither Austrian statesman made any concrete commitments, Keppler had the im-

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 435–436.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 437–438.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 442.

²⁶ *Keppler*, Vol. III, p. 99.

pression that the Chancellor would be amenable to a certain amount of conventional diplomatic pressure.²⁷

During all this the direction of German policy was well concealed from the world. Hitler, though committed to a policy of peaceful penetration, did not divulge these designs to foreign observers. In a conversation with Sir Neville Henderson on March 3 he insisted that "Germany would not tolerate any interference by third powers in the settlement of her relations with kindred countries. If internal explosions occurred in Austria or Czechoslovakia, Germany would not remain neutral, but would act with lightning speed."²⁸ Subsequent events, however, do not confirm that Hitler was thinking of any concrete measures when making this belligerent statement. Even Göring seems to have modified his views at this time. He, too, had dropped Leopold and was trying to form his own coalition in Austria by abandoning his annexationist plans and appealing to the more moderate Austrians of the right, such as Seyss-Inquart and the former vice-chancellor, Prince Ruediger von Starhemberg. His Austrian brother-in-law, Franz Hueber, was sent to see Starhemberg, then living in Switzerland. After their conversation Starhemberg was inclined "to think that Hueber and his friends, and even Göring did not believe at that time—only a week before the invasion—that it would take place so soon." Hueber assured him that Göring did not care whether Austria belonged to Germany or not; he wanted only to be sure that she would not join any coalition directed against Germany. The Austrian prince, however, seems to have declined to involve himself.²⁹

The Starhemberg-Hueber meeting occurred about March 6. On March 8, Ribbentrop left for London to pay a long-overdue farewell visit to the government to whom he had been accredited until February 4. Before his departure, Hitler purportedly told him "that the Austrian problem is progressing very nicely in line with the arrangements agreed upon with Schuschnigg at Berchtesgaden."³⁰ On the same day, General Erhard Milch, second-in-command of the German air force, went on leave to Switzerland. While bidding Göring good-by, he asked whether he could "leave without misgivings." Göring said he could.³¹ Five days before the fall of Austria, no one in Germany seems to have planned or foreseen the drastic turn of events that was about to take place.

²⁷ *ADAP*, Vol. I, pp. 456-459.

²⁸ Sir Neville Henderson, *The Failure of a Mission* (New York, 1940), p. 117; *ADAP*, Vol. I, pp. 196-203.

²⁹ Ruediger von Starhemberg, *Between Hitler and Mussolini* (New York, 1942), pp. 221-222, 269-272; Zernatto, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

³⁰ *IMT*, Vol. X, p. 247; Joachim von Ribbentrop, *Zwischen London und Moskau* (Leoni, 1953), p. 133.

³¹ *Keppler*, Vol. III, p. 96.

Schuschnigg initiated the third and last phase of the *Anschluss*. He felt that he had two courses of action left: He could let the Nazis wear him down step by step or he could risk a crisis by calling on the Austrian people to decide now between the *status quo* and absorption by Germany. If he adopted the first course, he felt that his fall was certain; if he chose the latter, European opinion might possibly avert an invasion and save his country.³² On March 1, he decided to call a plebiscite for Sunday, March 13, in which the voters would be asked to vote yes or no on the proposition of a "free, German, independent, social, Christian, and united Austria." Four days later he set in motion the necessary administrative machinery to carry out Austria's first election since 1932. He communicated his plan to Seyss-Inquart on the eighth, swearing him to secrecy until the next day, when he would announce his intentions in a speech at Innsbruck.³³ This last maneuver illustrates Schuschnigg's hopeless position. Though nominally independent, the Austrian government was no longer able to make an independent decision. To make matters worse there was justifiable doubt whether an election called under these circumstances could be accepted as a fair test of public opinion. Schuschnigg recognized these conditions, but he had to avoid a long campaign in the course of which Austria would be swamped with German propaganda. Thus, he hoped, against hope, to secure a victory which Hitler would never allow him to win.

Seyss-Inquart seems to have kept the secret, but by the morning of the ninth, news had leaked to the Nazi party, one of whose members was a secretary in the office preparing the elections. It is, therefore, quite likely that the German government knew what was in the wind by the time Schuschnigg left for the Tyrolean capital.³⁴ By noon Seyss-Inquart had not only reversed his earlier assent and written to his Austrian superior protesting against the plebiscite, but a copy of his protest had also been dispatched to Berlin with Odilo Globocnik, a leader of the Austrian S.S., and a member of the party's inner circle. By the evening of the ninth, the Austrian Nazis decided to support the plebiscite only if Schuschnigg would repeal Article 88 of the Treaty of St. Germain, which outlawed the *Anschluss*.³⁵

When Globocnik arrived in Berlin he was told to wait, while Hitler sent Keppler to Vienna "to prevent the plebiscite or have the question of the Anschluss added to it."³⁶ Von Papen, who had not yet returned from Vienna, was called and ordered to exert pressure in the same direction.³⁷ All

³² Ulrich Eichstaedt, *Von Dollfuss zu Hitler* (Wiesbaden, 1955), pp. 355-356.

³³ *IMT*, Vol. XV, p. 624; Schuschnigg, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-41.

³⁴ Erich Kordt, *Wahn und Wirklichkeit* (Stuttgart, 1947), pp. 101-102.

³⁵ *IMT*, Vol. XXIV, p. 28; Vol. XXVI, pp. 355-356.

³⁶ *ADAP*, Vol. I, p. 460.

³⁷ *Keppler*, Vol. IIc, p. 87.

direct action was, however, postponed, for Hitler wanted to hear from Ribbentrop how England might react to a drastic solution of the Austrian question.³⁸ His crucial report arrived on the tenth. It indicated that England would not undertake anything on Austria's behalf, so long as the conflict remained localized.³⁹ Only then did Hitler decide to press for Schuschnigg's resignation.

In the meantime other preparations had been completed. Keitel was ordered to prepare a staff plan for military action against Austria.⁴⁰ He and other military leaders went to work at once and by 6:30 P.M. on the tenth the 8th army of Colonel-General von Bock was mobilized.⁴¹ General Milch returned from his vacation, and was told to ready the air force.⁴² Keppler and von Papen were back in Berlin by the evening of the tenth, while Globocnik returned to Vienna with a message that the party had "freedom of action" and the Fuehrer was "standing behind it." Apparently news of what he was bringing had preceded him, for when Seyss-Inquart, still on the evening of the tenth, returned from a meeting with Schuschnigg and Schmidt, in which he had once more promised co-operation in the plebiscite in return for a coalition government, Klausner told him that the Reich opposed the plebiscite and that he would receive a letter outlining Hitler's exact position the next day. The party was no longer interested in compromise. The advocates of action were at last ready to take over.⁴³

On the morning of the eleventh, Seyss-Inquart received a personal letter from Hitler informing him of the military preparations in Berlin and promising help if Schuschnigg did not change his stand. Noon was set as the deadline for the Austrian chancellor's compliance. Seyss-Inquart went to the Ballhausplatz to explain the contents of the letter, pointing out to Schuschnigg that "there was great danger of new world complications . . . and implored him to give in and rescind the plebiscite." Their conference did not end until 11:30 A.M. and the ultimatum was extended to 2:00 P.M. Seyss-Inquart then went to party headquarters where Klausner decided on a new ultimatum, likewise with a two o'clock deadline, demanding a three-week delay of the vote. If no news was received from the federal chancellor by 3:00 P.M., the party was to wire Hitler, release a proclamation to the population, and take steps to seize power.⁴⁴

The Austrian government did convene at two o'clock, as planned, and

³⁸ Kordt, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

³⁹ *ADAP*, Vol. I, pp. 217-218.

⁴⁰ *IMT*, Vol. XI, pp. 503-504.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 371.

⁴² *Keppler*, Vol. III, p. 96.

⁴³ *IMT*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 29-33.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 356-357; Vol. XVI, p. 349.

Schuschnigg agreed to call off the plebiscite, refusing, however, to call another referendum in three weeks. At 2:45 Göring called Seyss-Inquart from Berlin and announced that these concessions were insufficient but that he alone could not decide what ought to be done next. A few minutes later he called back and said that Hitler demanded the resignation of the entire cabinet. Schuschnigg was informed of this at 3:30 and tendered his resignation to the Austrian president, Miklas.⁴⁵

In the meantime, Keppler was once more dispatched to Vienna to lend substance to the telephone demands. At this point Göring emerges as the man in charge. At Nuremberg the *Reichsmarschall* testified that he "sent Keppler to Vienna, so that as regards the annexation matters would take their proper course. I would rather have sent someone else, because Herr Keppler was too weak for me, but the *Fuehrer's* desire in this was that if anyone be sent, it should be Keppler."⁴⁶ The emissary called Berlin at 4:55 to report that Schuschnigg was on his way to resign and added that he would call again at 5:30 concerning his progress in forming a new cabinet.⁴⁷ By four o'clock, then, on March 11, everything seemed to be going according to German desires.

Parallel with the political developments, feverish military planning continued in Berlin. Göring met with Generals Milch, Beck, and Brauchitsch in the morning to discuss the possible invasion, and at 2:00 P.M.—as the Austrian cabinet was convening—Hitler issued a directive for the operation, stating his intention of using force to restore "constitutional conditions and prevent acts of violence against the pro-German population."⁴⁸ Two hours later, however, after the Berlin demands had been accepted in Vienna, the order was rescinded.⁴⁹

At this point a Nazified, though formally independent, Austria seems to have been in the cards. Once more Austrian opposition, no matter how justified, played into the hands of the extremists. Schuschnigg had indicated his readiness to resign, but President Miklas refused to let him go. In any case, he declared his unalterable opposition to appointing Seyss-Inquart as his successor. At five o'clock a group of Nazi leaders demanded once more a Seyss-Inquart cabinet with a national majority, legalization of the party, and the return of the exiles from Germany. If their demands were not met by 7:30, they threatened a German invasion, to begin at eight o'clock.⁵⁰ Half an hour later the German military attaché informed the presi-

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 355.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 392-393.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 356.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 335-337.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 356.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 356-357.

dent that 150,000 men would march if a Seyss-Inquart cabinet was not immediately formed. He was rebuffed in "a firm and brave manner."⁵¹

By this time, events began to succeed one another with breath-taking swiftness, largely because of Göring's intervention. Ever since four o'clock, he said he had

had the instinctive feeling, that the situation was now mobile and that now, finally, that possibility which I had long and ardently awaited was here,—the possibility of bringing about a complete solution. From this moment I must take 100% responsibility for all further happenings, because it was not the *Fuehrer* so much as myself, who set the pace and, even overruling the *Fuehrer's* misgivings, brought everything to its final development.⁵²

At 5:00 P.M., on March 11, Göring, unaware of Miklas' resistance, called the German legation and ordered that Seyss-Inquart's cabinet be formed by 7:30 and that the other demands, then being presented to Schuschnigg, be met by the same deadline. At 5:20 he called his brother-in-law, Hueber, to tell him that he would be both minister of justice and foreign affairs in the new cabinet, repeating that everything had to be done by 7:30 that evening. One minute later, however, his composure was severely jolted when Seyss-Inquart telephoned to report that Miklas wanted a middle-of-the-road chancellor, and had in fact no intention of appointing him. Göring angrily insisted that this matter be taken care of at once because Germany was "now rolling." He was interrupted by Kajetan Muehlmann with the comment that Miklas wanted to precipitate an "official act" on the part of Germany, to throw the onus of aggression on the power to the north. Göring retorted that unless a satisfactory answer arrived by 7:30 "the troops will march and the independence of Austria will be at an end."⁵³

The marching of the troops may have been a foregone conclusion in any case. When Keppler returned to Vienna at 6:00, he carried with him the text of a telegram to be sent by Seyss-Inquart as the new federal chancellor, asking for German assistance to overcome unrest in Austria. Seyss-Inquart categorically refused to send it, pointing out that he was not head of any government and that there was no unrest to be quelled.⁵⁴ The two went to see Miklas, who remained adamant. However, at seven o'clock Schuschnigg left the president's office, announcing to those present in the antechamber he was about to go on the air to announce his resignation.⁵⁵ At this

⁵¹ Keppler, Vol. III, p. 122.

⁵² IMT, Vol. IX, p. 296.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 322; Vol. XXI, pp. 360-361.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 455; Vol. XXXII, p. 277.

⁵⁵ He announced his resignation over the radio at 7:30 P.M. *Schulthess' Europaeischer Geschichtskalender fuer 1938* (Muenchen, 1939), p. 218. Cited hereafter as *Schulthess*.

point matters were complicated by an argument between Keppler and Friedrich Rainer, one of the Nazi leaders. The ultimatum was about to run out, and Rainer insisted that the German Army was about to cross the border. Hence, he was giving orders for the party to seize power. Keppler, who was better informed, denied that the army was marching, but Rainer maintained that so long as the Austrian government was under that impression, the opportunity should be used to the utmost, adding maliciously that for the time being orders in Austria were being given by Klausner and not by Keppler.⁵⁶ He was, of course, completely mistaken. In this crisis Austria's Nazis were no more an independent factor than the Schuschnigg government.

At eight o'clock Klausner ordered his men to take over while Seyss-Inquart was once more telephoning Göring to report that the government had simply retired from business without appointing a successor cabinet. If the Germans were to invade Austria, he pointed out, they would also have to run it. Göring replied that he would order the invasion and that the rest was up to Seyss-Inquart. Any resistance would be punished by court-martial, and Miklas' refusal to name Seyss-Inquart chancellor was resistance.⁵⁷

After this conversation Hitler agreed to issue his second mobilization order. "Hitler, who had previously been listening thoughtfully to Göring, suddenly slapped his thigh, threw back his head and said 'Let's go.'"⁵⁸ Orders followed thick and fast. Neurath was called to the chancellory and informed of the decision that had been made. He was to advise Göring on foreign affairs, since Ribbentrop was in London and the *Reichsmarschall* "had no experience in answering diplomatic notes."⁵⁹ Neurath advocated Ribbentrop's recall, but Göring opposed this. Finally, Hitler charged him with informing Secretary of State Weizsaecker of his decision "so that the foreign office would know what was happening."⁶⁰ At 8:30 Lieutenant General von Viebahn informed General Jodl that the situation had changed and that the invasion would take place.⁶¹ Fifteen minutes later, Hitler's directive Number 2 was issued, ordering the invasion at dawn, March 12, 1938.⁶²

In Vienna matters were still deadlocked. Miklas continued to refuse to appoint Seyss-Inquart, and Göring finally decided—via a telephone call to Keppler—that Seyss-Inquart would have to send the telegram. Though the

⁵⁶ *IMT*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 33–34.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 362–365.

⁵⁸ *Keppler*, Vol. III, p. 71.

⁵⁹ *ADAP*, Vol. I, p. 473.

⁶⁰ *IMT*, Vol. IX, pp. 398–399; Vol. XVI, p. 642.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 372.

⁶² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 774.

Fuehrer's plenipotentiary rather maladroitly assured him that everything in Austria was perfectly calm, the *Reichsmarschall* insisted that if Seyss-Inquart did not wish to send the wire himself, he should at least agree to have someone else do so.⁶³ According to Göring, "It was rather of the greatest importance that German troops should march to stave off any desire on the part of a neighboring country to inherit even a single Austrian village."⁶⁴

Eventually a telegram, bearing Seyss-Inquart's signature and requesting German assistance, was sent. According to von Papen "late in the evening it was learned that the Austrian government had requested the entry of German troops, since otherwise they could not control the situation."⁶⁵ The exact time of the sending of this request can be ascertained only from a telephone call made by Keppler to Reich Press Chief Otto Dietrich at 9:54, announcing that Seyss-Inquart's consent had finally been obtained.⁶⁶ The telegram was later found in the files of the Foreign Office with the indication that it had been received at 9:40. Thus, Seyss-Inquart must have consented to its dispatch fourteen minutes *after* it was received in Berlin.⁶⁷

The importance of this episode, however, should not be overrated, for at this point the situation was accurately described by these words of Hermann Göring: "The order to march had been given and had nothing to do with the telegram as such. It was immaterial whether or not he [Seyss-Inquart] was in agreement. The responsibility for invasion rested with the *Fuehrer* and me."⁶⁸ Göring was quite right; the matter of the invasion had been decided. At 10:30 P.M. word arrived from Rome that Mussolini was giving Germany a free hand. The last potential obstacle has disappeared.⁶⁹ At midnight Miklas finally gave in and accepted Seyss-Inquart as acting chancellor only, an arrangement which would still require the President's signature on all government decrees.⁷⁰

The collapse of all opposition produced the last dramatic episode of the tragedy. By midnight of March 11, all German demands had once more been met. Schuschnigg had resigned, the plebiscite had been withdrawn, and Seyss-Inquart was the new Federal Chancellor. There was, therefore, no further need for German intervention, particularly since S.A. and S.S. formations had been mobilized all over Austria since eight o'clock. Accordingly, Seyss-Inquart, whose illusions were likewise durable, asked Keppler

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 365-368; *Keppler*, final plea, p. 5.

⁶⁴ *IMT*, Vol. IX, p. 298.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 332.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 368.

⁶⁷ *ADAP*, Vol. I, p. 474; *IMT*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 278.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 393.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 368-369.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 36.

to call Berlin and stop military action. The call was received at the Foreign Office sometime after midnight and was relayed to Hitler's chief aide *S.A. Obergruppenfuehrer* Brueckner. Brueckner, in turn, consulted Colonel Schmoldt, Hitler's army aide. Together they awakened the Fuehrer and reported the request. "After a short deliberation Hitler decided that the Foreign Office should be notified that the invasion would take place . . . since the preparations which had been made for it could not be cancelled or held up."⁷¹ Göring later reprimanded Brueckner for disturbing Hitler instead of calling him. For the marshal, stopping the invasion "was not at all in our interest. From this moment on, not Seyss-Inquart, but the *Fuehrer* and I held the fate of Austria in our hands."⁷²

Yet "the final turn of events was not clear in the *Fuehrer's* mind on that evening."⁷³ That Hitler was not thinking of outright annexation is proved by the fact that in the evening of the eleventh the German minister of the interior, Frick, informed his staff that a unification with Austria in some form could be expected. Hitler would probably become president of both countries in a personal union. The ministry was to work out the appropriate legal measures. This was done on the twelfth, and the drafts were forwarded to Hitler, who by then was in Linz.⁷⁴

On the morning of March 12, 1938, the parade into Austria began. At the "Austro-Bavarian" border the invasion bore a cheerful note, since the spearheading 10th Division received a hearty welcome on the Austrian side. Fortunately for Germany no effective protests or resistance was encountered, for before long 70 per cent of all German vehicles were stranded on the road to Vienna, largely because of inadequate driver training. It was finally decided that movement by train would be simpler, and after Foreign Office assurances had been received that no pressure would be expected on the western front, the necessary rolling stock was made available.⁷⁵

In Vienna the new government⁷⁶ took the oath of allegiance to the Austrian constitution at ten o'clock.⁷⁷ Seyss-Inquart seems to have taken this oath seriously, and once more called Berlin to stop the invasion. This attempt failing, he proceeded to Linz to meet Hitler and "asked him whether it would not be possible to have Austrian troops march into the German *Reich* so that, symbolically at least, equal rights would be maintained. The *Fuehrer*

⁷¹ *Keppeler*, Vol. III, pp. 8, 74; *ADAP*, Vol. I, pp. 477-478, 481.

⁷² *IMT*, Vol. IX, p. 394.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 395.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XLI, pp. 351-358.

⁷⁵ *ADAP*, Vol. I, pp. 479-480; *IMT*, Vol. XV, p. 355.

⁷⁶ Most of its members were Pan-Germans rather than Nazis. See Heinrich Benedikt (ed.), *Geschichte der Republik Oesterreich* (Muenchen, 1954), p. 273.

⁷⁷ *IMT*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 451-452.

agreed and Austrian troops actually marched into Munich, Berlin, and other cities in Austrian uniform."⁷⁸ The German penchant for heavy comedy would not be denied even at this grim hour.

In the afternoon of the twelfth Hitler had arrived at his birthplace of Braunau on Austrian soil and from there proceeded to Linz. In a speech delivered at 8:00 P.M. he mentioned that the founding of a Greater Germany was the wish of the entire German nation, but added: "I do not know on which day you will be called. I hope it is not far away."⁷⁹ Seyss-Inquart wrote Himmler in 1939 that *Gauleiter* Josef Buerckel had, that evening, suggested the "dissolution" of Austria but that Hitler had rejected this proposal.⁸⁰ However, the new Austrian chancellor did, at Linz, publicly repudiate Article 88 of the Treaty of St. Germain, thus removing the primary legal obstacle to the union between the two countries.⁸¹

Just at what point Hitler changed his mind cannot be said with any degree of certainty. According to one contemporary observer he was so impressed by the reception accorded him on Austrian soil that he abandoned any solution short of complete union.⁸² The recollections of his press chief, Otto Dietrich, give a different version and are chronologically more precise, though not accurate. "During the first 24 hours following his entry into Austria Hitler did not yet consider the *Anschluss*," Dietrich recalls. "He feared the intervention of the powers. He desired merely that President Miklas appoint a national socialist government." But when Hitler read foreign press reports on the thirteenth claiming that the *Anschluss* had already occurred, he felt that he might just as well justify the accusations. "After several hours of indecision he made up his mind, called in the experts and ordered them to work out the necessary details."⁸³ Dietrich recognized the implausibility of this explanation, but insisted that "many actions, which the press insisted he was planning, only served to draw his attention in that direction and caused him to act accordingly." Could it be that the German press chief overestimated the proverbial power of the press?

In any case Dietrich's account is clearly inaccurate, for when Stuckart of the Ministry of the Interior arrived with the draft of the personal union law in Linz, in the "forenoon" of the thirteenth, Hitler told him that the deal was off and that Austria was to be joined to Germany. This was well before the first twenty-four hours of his visit had expired.⁸⁴

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 631.

⁷⁹ *Schulthess*, p. 61.

⁸⁰ *IMT*, Vol. XXXII, p. 119.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 278.

⁸² *Keppler*, Vol. III, p. 96.

⁸³ Otto Dietrich, *Zwölf Jahre mit Hitler* (Muenchen, 1955), pp. 52-53.

⁸⁴ *IMT*, Vol. XLI, pp. 358-359.

Now Austria was to become a *Land* "like Bavaria and the other German *Laender*" and Stuckart was to function as Keppler's legal adviser in bringing this about. Hitler next ordered Buerckel to reorganize the party in Austria and to prepare a new plebiscite in his capacity as acting head of the Austrian branch of the party. In a further noteworthy rebuff to the Austrian followers who had labored so diligently for this day, Keppler was appointed Reichplenipotentiary for Austria.⁸⁵

On the thirteenth, at noon, the first German troops arrived in Vienna while the Austrian cabinet was passing a law incorporating Austria into Germany. Miklas refused to sign it. He finally resigned, but not, however, without appointing Seyss-Inquart acting president for the duration of the emergency.⁸⁶ The latter returned to Linz late in the evening⁸⁷ to report the passage of the *Anschluss* law and to discuss some of the problems connected with this move. "This was, however, not at all easy, for the *Fuehrer* was deeply moved and wept."⁸⁸ Thus ended the day which Hitler described as the happiest in his life.

On the fourteenth Vienna accorded the Fuehrer a tumultuous reception which to one observer seemed "one of the strongest expressions of popular passion known to modern history."⁸⁹ On the fifteenth he appointed Seyss-Inquart *Reichsstatthalter* of Austria, thus continuing the customary administrative confusion of his regime. Austria was German at last, governed by a Reichplenipotentiary (Keppler), and a *Reichsstatthalter* (Seyss-Inquart), while a Reich Kommissar (Buerckel) was put in charge of the Austrian branch of the party. Keppler's job was liquidated in May, but Buerckel and Seyss-Inquart continued to feud with one another until 1939, when Buerckel finally became sole ruler in the southeastern domain.

Twenty years after the death of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the Pan-German dream had become a reality. Though Hitler had long and ardently desired this outcome, victory was placed in his hand by circumstances which he clearly did not control. At no time during the Austrian crisis is there any evidence that the Fuehrer planned for more than twenty-four hours ahead. It was the first instance of his intuitive seizure of opportunity, the *modus operandi* he used with such astonishing success until the law of averages once and for all turned against him.

⁸⁵ Gerd Ruehle, *Das grossdeutsche Reich* . . . (Berlin, 1939), pp. 73-75.

⁸⁶ *IMT*, Vol. XXII, p. 453.

⁸⁷ For an interesting sidelight on Hitler at Linz, see August Kubizek, *Adolf Hitler, mein Jugendfreund* (Graz, 1953), pp. 327-332.

⁸⁸ *IMT*, Vol. XV, p. 633.

⁸⁹ *Keppler*, Vol. IIc, p. 73.

A Note on Harroddian Interactions

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IN MARCH, 1939, the *Economic Journal* carried an article by Professor R. F. Harrod, which since has attracted considerable attention from those economists interested in the theory of national income and employment. Harrod's basic idea was that the problems of business cycles should be studied in conjunction with the problems of long-run economic development. With this in mind he constructed a simple mathematical model of an economy in which business cycles could be portrayed as fluctuations about a more stable growth trend.

During the nineteen years which have elapsed since the first formulation of the model, "An Essay in Dynamic Theory" and *Towards a Dynamic Economics* have become required reading for all graduate economists and often for honors undergraduates.¹ Unfortunately, there has as yet been no real success in applying the Harrod model to growth and cycle patterns in the real world, and the model can remain an integral part of macroeconomic theory only if later research makes its concepts more fruitful for some sort of applied analysis, be it quantitative or qualitative.

Oddly enough, no one has yet taken the time to do the simple, plodding job of working out all the *ceteris paribus* relationships implied by Harrod's assumptions and theorems. The present paper is an effort in this direction. Once all stages in the model are clearly defined and all paths between them are fully known, it may be possible, at least qualitatively, to check the patterns predicted by the model against real-world behavior. If these patterns correspond, the model may then be used as a basis for formulating public policy to maximize growth and minimize fluctuation.

NOTE.—The author is deeply indebted to Southern Methodist University for making available the time necessary for the preparation of this paper and to the University's Graduate Seminar in Economic Research for helpful if scathing criticism during the construction of the argument. Any remaining errors are, of course, the sole responsibility of the author.

¹ R. F. Harrod, "An Essay in Dynamic Theory," *Economic Journal*, Vol. XLIX (March, 1939), *passim*; R. F. Harrod, *Towards a Dynamic Economics* (London, Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1948), *passim*. An independent construction of the model is contained in E. D. Domar, "Capital Expansion, Rate of Growth and Employment," *Econometrica*, Vol. XIV (April, 1946), *passim*.

Harrod's model is founded upon a number of postulates regarding both the nature of economic systems as a whole and the behavioral patterns which tend to be operating in those systems. In this paper, postulates regarding the nature of economies will be called "assumptions"; those regarding behavioral characteristics will be called "theorems." We may state the assumptions as follows:

Assumption I (The Fundamental Equation).—Any rate of change in income, actual or conceptual, may be related to the capital requirements for maintaining that rate of change by means of the equation

$$G \cdot C = s \quad (1)$$

in which G represents the change in income divided by income in the previous period, C represents the ratio of capital required to sustain this change to the change itself, and s represents total saving in the previous period divided by the income of that period. This relationship may therefore be decomposed into the familiar symbols

$$\frac{\Delta Y}{Y} \cdot \frac{I}{\Delta Y} = \frac{S}{Y} \quad (2)$$

When applied to the actual rate of growth, these equations express nothing more than the truism that actual savings equal actual investment.

Assumption II (The Warranted Rate of Growth).—There exists in concept a rate of growth such that this rate, if attained, would satisfy all savers and all investors. The four variables—planned saving, planned investment, actual saving, and actual investment—then would all be equal. Robinson has correctly objected that there may in fact be no conceivable growth rate which would produce such universal satisfaction.² However, nothing in Harrod's model requires that the warranted rate of growth also be an equilibrium rate of growth. The only requirement is that the warranted rate of growth must be that rate in which all *subsequent* disequilibrium originates. Hence, it is the closest possible approximation to an equilibrium growth rate, a "most warranted" rate of growth in which planned saving, planned investment, actual saving, and actual investment are as similar as possible even if there is no conceivable growth rate at which they can be perfectly equilibrated.

The converse of Robinson's criticism is also possible: instead of having no warranted rate of growth there may be more than one at any given moment. Surely we may conceive of more than one set of savings and investment variables which are equal, thus defining more than one warranted rate of growth. In this case it is likely that the warranted rate which lies

² Joan Robinson, "The Model of an Expanding Economy," *Economic Journal*, Vol. LXII (March, 1952), pp. 52-53.

closest to the actual rate of growth would be viewed collectively by savers and investors as the most realistic ideal, thus exerting the greatest influence on their behavior. Hence, we would expect the warranted rate which lies closest to the actual rate to dominate other warranted rates. For simplicity we shall assume that all disequilibrium throughout the model takes place from one dominant warranted rate.

Assumption III (The Natural Rate of Growth).—There exists in concept a rate of growth which represents the maximum attainable over long periods with existing technology, a limited factor endowment, and cultural restrictions. This natural rate of growth is defined by the so-called "full employment" of the economy's scarcest resources, but this concept in turn is largely based on the long-term institutional environment. In the Western world, institutional forces are clearest in defining the full employment of labor factors, but cultural limitations also may define what society considers to be full employment of its property factors. If nothing else, the desired length of life of a given resource is an important consideration limiting the intensity with which it may be employed. Thus, the natural rate of growth is basically a maximum rate of growth established, for all practical purposes, by the mores of the society studied. For our purposes it is sufficient to indicate that this subject has been given extensive treatment in the literature on economic development.

Let us now turn to Harrod's theorems, the postulates of collective behavior.

Theorem I (The Relative Stability Theorem).—Although all three rates of growth—actual, warranted, and natural—are subject to alteration over a period of time, change during any given span is most likely to occur in the warranted rate, next most likely to occur in the actual rate, and least likely to occur in the natural rate. Of course, the warranted rate is extremely unstable. It may be dislocated in the time it takes to read a ticker tape. However, some lag is perforce required before these changing tastes can be translated into effective business decisions which affect the actual rate of growth. The natural rate of growth is the most stable of the three because it is so deeply rooted in cultural patterns. While Kaldor has observed that even the natural rate of growth is by no means fixed,³ we are less concerned with its absolute motion than with its motion relative to the other two rates.

Theorem II (The Divergence Theorem).—Given any departure of the warranted rate from the actual rate, the gap between the two rates tends to increase unless otherwise limited. An important qualification must be ap-

³ Nicholas Kaldor, "The Relation of Economic Growth and Cyclical Fluctuations," *Economic Journal*, Vol. LXIV (March, 1954), pp. 69-70.

pended to this theorem, for its validity depends upon the presumption that the planning horizon of savers and investors is less than ten years long.⁴

Theorem III (The Absolute-Motion Theorem).—Given a departure of the warranted rate of growth from the actual growth rate, both rates will tend to move in the same direction from their initial positions. When combined with the Divergence Theorem, this theorem merely requires that the actual and warranted growth rates move at different velocities in the same direction. In relatively prosperous times, when the actual rate of growth exceeds the warranted rate, investors and savers find that returns are better than they expected, so new expectations of higher returns are formed. However, the advanced growth rate planned and acceptable on the basis of these revised expectations falls even further short of the rising actual rate in the subsequent period. In relatively depressed times, when the warranted rate of growth exceeds the actual rate, investors and savers find that returns are less than expected, so new expectations of lower returns are formed. However, the reduced growth rate planned and acceptable on the basis of these revised expectations exceeds even further the falling actual rate in the subsequent period. As Harrod himself puts it: "The warranted rate is dragged down by depression."⁵

Theorem IV (The Ceiling Theorem).—The actual rate of growth cannot long exceed the natural rate of growth. This theorem dominates the Divergence Theorem, thus providing an upper limit to actual growth rates which otherwise would tend to move off to infinity during boom periods.

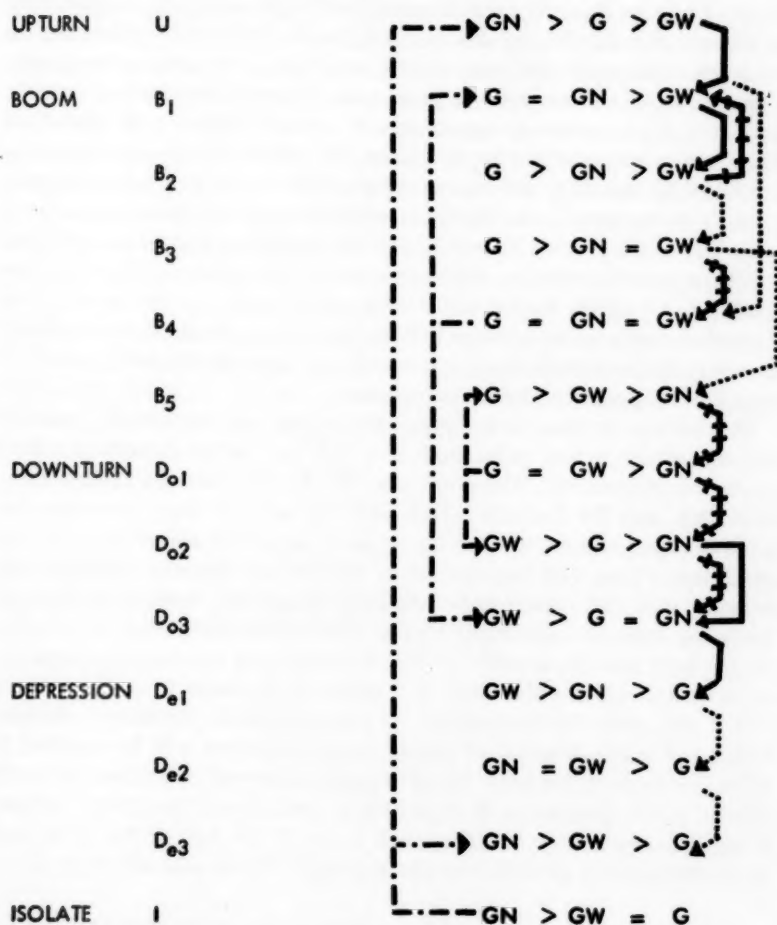
We are now prepared to consider all possible arrangements of the three growth-rate variables, together with the paths of change which connect these arrangements with each other. In the following "Table of Harrodian Interactions" let G be the actual rate of growth, GW the warranted rate of growth, and GN the natural rate of growth. Shock movements which result from the relative instability of the warranted rate (Theorem I) are indicated by the broken dot-dash paths; movements which follow the pattern of divergence (Theorem II) are indicated by the solid lines; the dotted lines indicate paths expected with regard to the Absolute-Motion Theorem (Theorem III); the crossed lines indicate tendencies in force from the ceiling effect (Theorem IV). Where more than one path leads out of any given stage, the path actually taken will depend upon the relative strength of these influences at the time in question.

Examination of the model as now ordered indicates the presence of four

⁴ Hans Brems, "Stability and Growth," *Economic Journal*, Vol. LXV (December, 1955), *passim*.

⁵ R. F. Harrod, "An Essay in Dynamic Theory," p. 30.

A TABLE OF HARRODIAN INTERACTIONS



- - - - - Theorem I
- Theorem II
- Theorem III
- +++++ Theorem IV

paths which may repeat themselves in cyclical fashion even without the benefit of a Hicksian floor. The first three of these cycles are given, respectively, by the sets: $B1-B2-B1$, $B1-B4-B1$, and $B1-B2-B3-B4-B1$. These are the relatively mild cycles observed during a period of continuing prosperity, when the actual rate of growth equals or exceeds the natural rate of growth. Recession occurs when the actual rate of growth is forced to come back down to the natural rate (stages $B1$ and $B4$) after a short excursion above it (stages $B2$ and $B3$). Yet even in recession the economy continues to grow at or above its natural rate, for the long-run faith of investors and savers is unshaken as long as the warranted rate of growth remains the smallest of the three growth variables. A fourth cycle, which occurs under prosperous conditions, is given by the set $B5-Do1-B5$. However, this cycle passes through a very precarious stage in $Do1$, and it may be necessary to employ monetary or even fiscal measures in order to prevent the development of stage $Do2$, the onset of chronic depression.

In addition to these four "prosperity cycles" the model also contains two sets of noncyclical paths, both of which lead in the absence of a floor to chronic depressions. These sets are: $B2-B3-B5-Do1-Do2-Do3-De1-De2-De3$, and $B4-Do3-De1-De2-De3$. In each of these groupings the seeds of depression are sown in the stages of downturn before there are any actual lapses from full employment of the scarcest resources. Although the economy may still appear to be relatively prosperous, there is no hope of automatic recovery once stages $Do2$ or $Do3$ are entered unless an effective floor is built into the model. Yet the observation of serious depressions appears to indicate that the floor, if it exists at all, varies to such an extent that it may never be encountered. As expected profits continue to decline, larger and larger amounts of autonomous investment will be required to offset the growing tendency for all private investment to become adversely affected by the depression. If stage $De3$ is reached and allowed to continue, it may become a truly herculean task to invert the loci of the actual and warranted rates of growth, thus causing stage $De3$ to pass into stage U .

Without dependence on a stable system we now have a well-defined model of limited disequilibrium within which both cyclical variation and chronic depression may be produced against a backdrop of trended growth. The precise loci of the three growth rates which comprise any given stage in the model cannot be measured, but a qualitative estimation of their location relative to each other is sufficient to identify the particular stage concerned. Since the most likely paths leading from each stage also are known, the nature of the immediate future may likewise be determined.

At the present writing (January, 1958) one reads that the economy of

the United States is experiencing lapses from the full employment both of labor and of plant capacity. This information suggests that the natural rate of growth presently lies somewhat above the actual. One also reads that most businesses expect profits during the coming year to approximate those attained in immediately previous years. This information suggests that the warranted rate of growth now lies above the actual rate and is at least equal, if not superior, to the natural rate of growth. Taken together, these statements point to an economic system presently in stages *De1* or *De2*. A superficial review of the past five years further indicates that this position was approached via one of the model's indicated paths—*B5-Do1-Do2-Do3*—all of which are stages of full employment with a considerable upward pressure on prices. Nevertheless, these observations are largely intuitive. Since the model itself is at least plausible, thoroughgoing support or attack must come from long and exhaustive empirical studies of cycle and growth movements in several different countries. For the present the author is happy to leave this work among the projects for future research.

Mortality Differentials for a Spanish-Surname Population Group

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PERSONS OF SPANISH-AMERICAN AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN DESCENT constitute a significant ethnic group in the Southwestern states, and in the past three decades the Bureau of the Census has attempted to publish data pertaining to the group. This Spanish population is heterogeneous in its history and origin, for it consists of both descendants of Spanish colonials who settled in the Southwest and the more recent Mexican immigrants and their descendants. In 1930 the Bureau of the Census collected and published data entitled *Mexicans*, and in 1940 a question concerning their mother tongue, or language other than English spoken in the home in earliest childhood, was asked of a 5 per cent sample. Both methods proved unsatisfactory. The *Mexican* category excluded most persons of Spanish colonial descent, and the mother-tongue classification omitted many descendants of Mexican immigrants. For example, 7 per cent of the native population of Mexican parentage reported English as their mother tongue. In 1950 data relating to persons of Spanish descent were obtained by identifying white persons of Spanish surname on the census schedules as a part of the general coding operation for Texas, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. In 1940 these five states had accounted for more than 80 per cent of all persons of Spanish mother tongue. Data were published on the Spanish-surname population in the five states. The use of surnames to identify the Spanish and Mexican Americans is, of course, not ideal, but the Bureau of the Census feels that on the whole the classification is satisfactory.¹ The use of this

NOTE.—This paper is based on material from the author's unpublished doctoral dissertation, "Mortality in Houston, Texas, 1949-1951: A Study of Socio-Economic Differentials" (Austin, University of Texas, 1956).

¹ The description given here of the Spanish-surname population and the attempted delimitation were taken from United States Bureau of the Census, *United States Census of Population: 1950. Persons of Spanish Surname*, Vol. IV, Pt. 4, Chap. C (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1953), pp. 4-5.

method alone no doubt results in underrepresentation of the total persons of Spanish or Mexican origin, but it has been claimed that this approach provides the best available information on Latin Americans and that it does delineate the group satisfactorily.²

It is possible to employ specifics other than Spanish surname to identify the Latin Americans but since use of the surname is the only criterion used by the Bureau of the Census, demographic studies of the group must of necessity follow the census practice. A classification of births, deaths, and other data on some other basis would not be comparable to census population data, and rates calculated by using the census data would be invalid.

Very little is known about the pattern of mortality among Latin Americans in the United States. Prior to 1950, basic population data upon which to base death rates were lacking or at very best unreliable. Moreover, deaths were not classified in a manner which made possible the separation of Latin-American deaths from those of other whites. Occasional studies were made using the available data, but these dealt with particular problems, such as the well-known high Latin-American mortality from tuberculosis.³ No comprehensive analyses, however, were possible. This lack of knowledge makes even the information on such routine differentials as age and sex, presented in this paper, of considerable importance, for almost nothing is known about them for an urban Spanish-surname population.

Sources of Data and Research Techniques

The death rates presented in this study are based upon mortality data for the city of Houston, Texas, for the years 1949-1951.⁴ A listing of deaths by name was made, and Spanish-surname deaths were classified by using the Spanish-surname list supplied by the Bureau of the Census. Population data for the calculation of rates were taken from the publications of the Bureau of the Census for 1950.⁵ Population estimates for July 1, 1950, were made, and death rates were calculated for the customary estimated midyear population. Standardized death rates were calculated by the indirect method described in Hagood, using the age-sex distribution of the white population in the United States in 1940 as a standard population.⁶ Table 3, showing life ex-

² Robert H. Talbert, *Spanish-Name People in the Southwest and West* (Fort Worth, Leo Potishman Foundation, Texas Christian University, 1955), pp. 11-13.

³ Louis I. Dublin, "The Mortality from Tuberculosis Among the Racial Stocks in the Southwest," *American Review of Tuberculosis*, Vol. XLV, No. 1 (January, 1942), pp. 61-74.

⁴ The co-operation and helpfulness of Mr. W. H. Alban, registrar and statistician for the Houston Health Department, are greatly appreciated.

⁵ United States Bureau of the Census, *United States Census of Population: 1950. General Characteristics, Texas*, Vol. II, Pt. 43, Chap. B (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1952), p. 90; *Persons of Spanish Surname*, p. 57.

⁶ Margaret Jarman Hagood, *Statistics for Sociologists* (New York, Henry Holt and

pectancies, was taken from life tables constructed by the Reed-Merrell method presented by Hagood.⁷

Mortality Differences by Age and Sex

Age-sex specific death rates for persons of Spanish surname and the white population minus the Spanish-surname group, designated as Anglo-white, for Houston are presented in Table 1. In general, Latin-American males exhibit a higher mortality than do females, as would be expected. This is

TABLE 1

Age-Sex Specific Death Rates for Anglo-White and Spanish-Surname Populations, Houston, Texas, 1949-1951

(Rates per 1000 Population)

Age	Anglo-White		Spanish Surname	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Under 1	36.25	26.20	35.61	33.64
1-4	0.75	0.76	3.10	1.45
5-9	1.02	0.19	0.74	0.75
10-14	0.48	0.38	0.99	0.38
15-19	1.00	0.60	2.26	1.20
20-24	0.99	0.39	2.34	1.79
25-29	0.93	0.68	3.50	1.47
30-34	1.58	0.90	3.61	2.27
35-39	2.63	1.70	1.82	1.90
40-44	4.16	2.20	6.39	2.18
45-49	7.27	4.18	7.35	8.10
50-54	12.33	5.91	12.02	13.67
55-59	19.07	8.19	14.46	18.65
60-64	27.83	13.10	15.05	23.25
65-69	38.88	21.76	37.03	36.69
70-74	59.07	37.62	48.64	41.63
75 and over	116.60	93.67	84.03	70.59
Total	7.86	5.40	6.59	5.41
Both sexes	6.61		6.00	

Source: Ellis, "Mortality in Houston, Texas," p. 139.

Company, 1941), pp. 843-847. Data for 1940 for construction of the standard million was taken from United States Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Characteristics of the Population*, Vol. II, Pt. 1 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1943); *Sixteenth Census of the United States: Population. Characteristics by Age*, Vol. IV, Pt. 1 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1943). Age-sex-cause specific death rates for 1940 used in standardization of death rates are from United States Bureau of the Census, "Deaths and Death Rates for Selected Causes by Age, Race, and Sex, United States, 1940," *Vital Statistics Special Reports*, Vol. XV, No. 21, Table 2.

⁷ *Statistics for Sociologists*, pp. 875-881.

not true, however, for the age groups from 45 to 69, and the male infant mortality is only slightly higher. In comparison with the Anglo-white rates, this is quite significant, for it indicates a relatively unfavorable mortality for Latin-American women. For the Anglo-whites, male mortality is much higher than that of females, especially at the ages of high death rates. In contrast, at these ages Spanish-surname women have death rates that are not very much lower than those of males, and often they are higher. For example, the male infant-mortality rate for Anglo-whites is about 10 per thousand higher than the female rate, whereas it is only about 2 per thousand for Spanish-surname males over females. Furthermore, there is no tendency whatsoever for Anglo-white females to have an excess mortality at any of the ages above 45, whereas Spanish-surname females do show such an excess. Spanish-surname male mortality compares favorably with that of Anglo-white males. Latin-American males have higher death rates than Anglo-white males chiefly in those ages where death rates are low, while at ages above 50 the Latin-American rates are lower. In contrast, Latin-American females have higher death rates than Anglo-white females at all ages except from 40 to 44 and at 75 and over; from ages 10 to 14 the rates are equal.

Mortality Differentials for the Leading Causes of Death

Standardized death rates for the ten leading causes of death in Houston are presented in Table 2. In the Spanish-surname group female mortality for

TABLE 2

Standardized Death Rates by Sex for Anglo-White and Spanish-Surname Populations for Selected Causes of Death, Houston, Texas, 1949-1951

(Rates per 100,000 Population)

Cause	Anglo-White		Spanish Surname	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Tuberculosis	23.44	2.49	98.08	94.23
Pneumonia	10.55	8.14	15.71	28.59
Malignant neoplasms	115.48	113.85	85.98	127.55
Diseases of the heart	302.08	129.36	200.85	185.22
Diabetes mellitus	11.62	9.97	6.90	12.55
Nephritis	10.72	6.29	7.24	17.67
Vascular lesions	88.07	85.06	79.60	81.43
Accident	52.80	21.91	57.90	27.16
Homicide	6.20	1.94	64.97	6.08
Suicide	20.60	4.81	19.05	0.00
All causes	910.00	624.00	958.00	904.00
Both sexes	764.00		924.00	

Source: Ellis, "Mortality in Houston, Texas," pp. 140, 147-148.

pneumonia, malignant neoplasms, diabetes, and nephritis is strikingly higher than male mortality. Males show much higher rates for diseases of the heart, accidents, homicides, and suicides. The rates for tuberculosis and vascular lesions are about equal for the sexes. This once again reflects the relatively unfavorable mortality experience of Latin-American women, for the Anglo-white women did not have higher rates than men for any of the leading ten causes of death. Comparison of the two ethnic groups by sex shows that the death rate of Spanish-surname women exceeds that of Anglo-white women for seven of the ten causes. Spanish-surname men have higher rates than Anglo men for only four of the causes.

The death rates for all causes in Table 2 show that the lower total death rates for Latin Americans in Table 1 were the result of a very favorable age distribution. The standardized rates indicate that the higher mortality of the Spanish-surname group results primarily from higher female mortality, for the Spanish-surname men have a standardized death rate only slightly above that of Anglo men.

Differentials in Life Expectancy

In Table 3 the life expectancies for Spanish-surname males and females are presented with the expectancies for the total white population of Houston. It is significant that Latin-American females have an expectancy only 1.45 years greater than males at birth, as compared to an expectancy of 6.55 for females over males in the total white population. For the total white population, females have a greater life expectancy than males at all ages, but among Latin Americans, female expectancy is less than male for the age group from 35 to 65. The comparison of Latin Americans with total whites is not completely valid, for the latter category includes the former. The Latin-American group is small, however—about 34,000 persons in 1950, the number about evenly divided between the sexes. It constituted slightly more than 7 per cent of the total white population, and its exclusion would not greatly affect the expectancies of the remaining whites. Moreover, since the differential in expectancies between males and females is much less for the Spanish-surname population than for the total whites, their exclusion would obviously indicate differences greater than those recorded for the Anglo-white population.

Summary and Conclusions

The data for persons of Spanish surname in Houston show that the favorable mortality experience of white women generally is not nearly so pronounced for Spanish-surname women. Latin-American males have an excess mortality compared to females, as do Anglo-white males, but for

TABLE 3

Life Expectancies by Sex for Total White and Spanish-Surname Populations, Houston, Texas, 1949-1951

Age	Total White		Spanish Surname	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Under 1	66.71	73.26	63.71	65.16
1-4	67.99	74.16	64.86	66.24
5-9	64.31	70.39	61.63	62.60
10-14	59.55	65.48	56.84	57.82
15-19	54.70	60.60	52.11	52.93
20-24	50.00	55.79	47.67	48.23
25-29	45.26	50.92	43.21	43.64
30-34	40.50	46.10	38.92	38.95
35-39	35.83	41.32	34.59	34.36
40-44	31.27	36.65	29.88	29.67
45-49	26.92	32.03	25.76	24.96
50-54	22.84	27.69	21.63	20.87
55-59	19.14	23.50	17.81	17.17
60-64	15.81	19.43	13.96	13.60
65-69	12.78	15.61	9.84	9.96
70-74	9.99	12.16	6.32	6.47

Source: Ellis, "Mortality in Houston, Texas," pp. 140, 147-148.

Latin Americans the excess is slight and does not hold for all age groups. Within the Spanish-surname group, therefore, women have a much less favorable mortality experience compared to the men in the group than do women in the Anglo-white group relative to men in that group.

There is evidence that the relatively high mortality of Spanish-surname women cannot be explained in terms of the low economic status of the Latin Americans. Among the other low-income groups in Houston, both white and nonwhite, women had a much lower mortality than men. Mayer and Hauser found that females in the lowest economic class in Chicago enjoyed an appreciably longer life expectancy than males.⁸

A group in which female mortality is almost as high as male is not in itself exceptional. Landry has noted that some countries have shown an excess female mortality. He pointed out that this apparently has no relation to whether the general death rates in the countries were high or low.⁹ Also, there is evidence that these sex differences in mortality cannot be adequately explained in biological terms.¹⁰

⁸ Albert J. Mayer and Philip M. Hauser, "Class Differentials in Expectation of Life at Birth," *Revue de l'Institut International de Statistique*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3 (1950), p. 199.

⁹ Adolphe Landry, *Traité de Démographie* (Paris, Payot, 1945), p. 191.

¹⁰ Antonio Ciocco, "Sex Differences in Morbidity and Mortality," *Quarterly Review of Biology*, Vol. XV, No. 2 (June, 1940), p. 204.

There is the possibility that the mortality pattern of Spanish-surname females may be explained in terms of their low status within their group. Upon examination, however, this appears unlikely. Their status is low, but societies in which women occupy a low status do not necessarily display an unfavorable female mortality. Barclay found that Taiwanese women had a life expectancy at birth several years longer than that of males. Their advantage, moreover, did not diminish at the older ages.¹¹ Certainly in an Oriental culture such as that of Taiwan, women would have a greater mortality than men if low status alone results in high death rates.

The low economic status of the group, frequent childbearing, and heavy household work doubtlessly undermine the physical condition of many Latin-American women and thereby lower their resistance to disease and their capacity to recover from illness. Beyond this, however, the definition of the role of women in Latin-American society and the attitudes and values of their culture may well be the deciding factors in explaining their mortality experience.

Students of Latin-American culture have noted that although the role of the woman is a subordinate one, it is extremely important in the stability and integration of the group. In particular, the woman, in both theory and practice, cares for her family and home. She is not encouraged to move outside this sphere.¹² Saunders in his study of medical care in the group cited several instances in which women left hospitals before release because of some pressing family circumstance or crisis. He pointed out that Anglo medical professionals undervalue the strong Latin-American family relationships which take precedence over matters that Anglos consider to be of more importance.¹³ Also, Latin Americans are very sensitive to violations of modesty, and special care must be taken, especially with women, in making physical examinations and discussing bodily functions.¹⁴ The modesty prescribed by their culture no doubt deters many Latin-American women from seeking medical assistance.

In addition to the role definitions which may contribute to the unfavorable mortality of Latin-American women, certain attitudes and values in the group culture may be significant. Latin Americans have a greater readiness toward acceptance and resignation than is characteristic of Anglos. They are more likely to meet difficulties by adjusting to them than by attempting to

¹¹ George W. Barclay, *Colonial Development and Population in Taiwan* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1954), p. 154.

¹² John H. Burma, *Spanish-Speaking Groups in the United States* (Durham, Duke University Press, 1954), pp. 8-9.

¹³ Lyle Saunders, *Cultural Difference and Medical Care* (New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1954), pp. 210-211.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

overcome them. If the lot of man is hard, it is the will of God and man must accept it.¹⁵ This attitude is part of a general tendency to have different concepts of disease, its causes, and what should be done about it, from those of Anglos.¹⁶ While generally held by Latin Americans, the attitude may well be stronger in women because of their relatively greater isolation from the Anglo culture.¹⁷ They may be, therefore, slower than the men in coming to accept Anglo medical practices. Some support of this may be seen in the Houston suicides, a cause of death closely related to cultural differences. There was not a single female suicide among Latin Americans in the three years studied. In contrast, males had a suicide rate almost equal that of Anglo males. In this regard, at least, Latin-American males seem to be acquiring the Anglo culture while females are not.

This explanation, in terms of differential role definition and differential acquisition of Anglo culture is suggested here only as conjecture. Certainly there is need of further research on sex differentials in a larger Spanish-surname group than the one in Houston. The pattern found there may be merely local or fortuitous. The fact remains that differences in role definition have been neglected in the formulation of generalizations regarding differential mortality in the interest of placing stress upon differences in social and economic status.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 128-129.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

¹⁷ Burma, *Spanish-Speaking Groups in the United States*, pp. 8-9.

Research Training

Washington University, St. Louis, has received a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health, U.S. Public Health Service, for training in research pertinent to mental health. Co-operating in the program are the County Health Department, the Washington University School of Medicine, five affiliated hospitals, and various community agencies interested in mental health. Direction of the research, expected to lead to the Ph.D. degree, is

under the direction of Drs. John C. Glidewell, psychology; Mildred B. Kantor, sociology; David J. Pittman, sociology; James M. Vanderplas, psychology; Albert F. Wessen, sociology; and George Winokur, psychiatry.

The requirements of the program are those of the graduate school, and of the appropriate department, of the University. Yearly stipends range upward from \$2,400. Interested students should contact Dr. N. J. Demerath, director, Social Science Institute, Washington University, St. Louis.

Economic Consequences of Free or Administered Prices in Agriculture

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IN THE CURRENT PUBLIC CONTROVERSY over farm price policy, two major divergent viewpoints have developed. A substantial number of people deplore any governmental restraints on agricultural prices and production and believe that the removal of government restraints would help solve the agricultural problem. Others advocate some form of governmental restraints as necessary to help solve the problem. Many on both sides of this controversy fail to recognize adequately all aspects of the problems facing agriculture.

To contribute to the discussion of this complex controversy, this paper evaluates, under real-world conditions, the economic consequences of two broad alternatives: (1) continuing some form of administered prices for major agricultural commodities and (2) returning either quickly or gradually to free prices. Before the choice between the two broad alternatives can be made, weights must be assigned the various economic consequences so as to permit summation. Thus the choice is affected by the weights as well as by the economic consequences per se. The final choice of our society must take into consideration not only the economic consequences—to which this paper is limited—but also the noneconomic aspects, such as the values placed on alternative goals, values placed on the means to reach the desired goals, political consequences, and administrative feasibility.

NOTE.—This article is based on a paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association, Dallas, Texas, April 4, 1958. We appreciate the comments made on an earlier draft by John S. Spratt, of Southern Methodist University; James B. Giles, of Rice Institute; and John M. Brewster and Sidney N. Gubin, of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington.

The term "administered prices" is used here rather than "price supports" because the concept we wish to impart is broader than that usually covered by "price supports." It is intended to include any government intervention with production, marketing, and pricing aimed at placing some sort of floor under agricultural prices received by farmers. The absence of any government intervention would be "free prices." (In this paper, it is assumed that the removal of governmentally administered prices will yield free prices, not a form of privately administered prices, such as prices administered by giant farmers' co-operatives without government-sponsored marketing agreements.)

Preparatory to analyzing the central problem of this paper, we need to consider three things. First, we need to summarize the problem facing agriculture. Second, we need a brief summary of the types of administered-price solutions that are under current consideration even though this paper does not evaluate the various forms. And third, we need to keep in mind the functions of prices, whether free or administered.

Preliminary Considerations

The agricultural problem.—The problem facing agriculture—and the nation—is that agricultural productive capacity is expanding faster than effective demand; consequently, net farm income is being depressed. This is a general agricultural problem, not solely a "cotton" problem, a "wheat" problem, or a "corn" problem. Furthermore, it is a long-run problem as well as a short-run one. There are several principal aspects of this imbalance between supply and demand.

First, it is an oversimplification to see the problem primarily in terms of an unreasonably large stock currently in Commodity Credit Corporation warehouses. The problem cannot be handled merely by reducing current surpluses.

Second, it is true that an increasingly larger quantity of farm output is being demanded; that is, the demand curve is shifting to the right. But agricultural supplies have been increasing even faster, so domestic surpluses result. These are long-run trends.

Demand has been increasing because of increases in population. Furthermore, per-capita demand for agricultural production has been increasing because of the rise in national per-capita income. The shift from a high cereal diet to a high meat-and-livestock-products diet as income has increased has been a form of increasing the quantity of farm products consumed. (There is still room for more of such a shift in diet patterns by lower-income people, but so far there has been little effort to expand their consumption through such devices as the food-stamp plan.) However, the increase in demand be-

cause of increased income has been relatively small compared with the increase in per-capita demand for nonfarm goods. From 1909 to 1956, the per-capita consumption of food increased only about 15 per cent, whereas the per-capita consumption of all goods increased about 60 per cent.¹

At the same time that demand has been increasing, the supply of agricultural commodities has been increasing. A major cause has been the marked improvement in farm technology. The individual farmer finds himself in the competitive framework where he is unable to influence the price at which he sells his product. One way he can hope to better his position in the price-cost squeeze is to produce more efficiently. Thus the individual farmer has great incentive to adopt quickly and fully all the improvements in technology available. The output per man-hour in agriculture doubled from 1940 to 1956, while the output per man-hour in manufacturing went up by less than half (42 per cent).² The United States also has a large productive capacity in agriculture relative to demand because it deliberately increased productive capacity in war times. Furthermore, the nature of agricultural resources contributes to high production; that is, land and labor do not easily go out of agricultural production.

The third and final aspect of this brief summary of the farm problem is price and the demand for farm products; that is, movement along the demand curve. The inelasticity of aggregate demand facing farmers at farm price levels is well known—to get a little more food eaten, the price to farmers must fall drastically. The demand for food as a whole is more inelastic than the demand for individual farm products because of the competition among food products for the consumer's dollar. Karl Fox has estimated that under 1956 conditions, for each 1 per cent decrease in prices paid farmers, the quantity of food demanded at the farm level increased less than a fourth of 1 per cent.³ In other words, there is a limit to how much a person can eat.

When farm prices are reduced, there is also the question of how much of the price decrease will be passed on to the consumer and how much will be absorbed by the marketing agencies. Even if farmers give food away, there is a minimum at which consumers can buy it because of marketing costs. From 1952 to 1956, the farmer's share of the retail price for processed foods

¹ Agricultural Marketing Service, *Consumption of Food in the United States*, Agriculture Handbook No. 62, Supplement for 1956 (Washington, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1957), pp. 45, 56.

² Committee Staff, Joint Economic Committee, *Productivity, Prices* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1957), Table 3, p. 89.

³ Karl A. Fox, "Effects of Farm Product Prices on Production and Commercial Sales," in *Policy for Commercial Agriculture, Its Relation to Economic Growth and Stability* (Joint Economic Committee, Government Printing Office, 1957), pp. 414-415. This work is cited hereafter, with pertinent author, as *Policy for Commercial Agriculture*.

like bread, breakfast cereals, and canned and frozen fruits and vegetables averaged only around 20 per cent; his share for unprocessed fruits and vegetables averaged about 30 to 40 per cent, and his share for unprocessed animal products like eggs, beef, chickens, and lamb averaged about 60 per cent.⁴

John D. Black and James Bonnen have summarized the problem in their estimate that, except for major catastrophes like war or drought, "supplies of farm products will scarcely be in balance with market demand by 1970 or 1975."⁵

Possible solutions currently considered.—Admittedly the resolution of this long-run imbalance of productive capacity and effective demand for farm products involves more than the mere choice of pricing systems. But price policy is an inherent part of any attack on the problem. This paper will consider the economic consequences of only two broad types of pricing systems—free and administered. It will not appraise the relative effects of various forms of administered prices. Yet it is necessary to have in mind the alternative types of governmental action covered by the summary term "administered prices" to give meaning to the subsequent discussion.

Briefly, administered-price policies include: (1) The continuation of price-support and acreage-control programs and marketing agreements and orders; that is, some variation of the present programs. (2) Flexible price supports that provide for a gradual but sure return to a free-price system. (3) Free prices in the market place coupled with direct payments to farmers—such payments to be based on the difference between the market price and some support level. (4) Rigid marketing quotas, in which some "fair" or support level price would be in mind when the marketing quotas were established although prices in the market place would be so-called "free."⁶ At least some of these administered-price programs could be designed so that they would not result in heavy losses to the United States Treasury. For example, deductions may be made from the price paid farmers to finance costs of the programs.

In a complete approach to the agricultural problem, any of these administered-price programs or a free-price policy could be coupled with subsidiary programs to expand domestic or foreign demand and programs to assist farmers in making farm and personal adjustments.

Theoretical functions of price.—The functions of any agricultural price system, free or administered, are to: (1) allocate income among farms,

⁴ Kenneth E. Ogren, "Marketing Costs, Farm Prices, and the Farmer's Share," *ibid.*, p. 253.

⁵ John D. Black, "Resources Needed in American Agriculture," *Journal of Farm Economics* (December, 1957), p. 1080.

⁶ For example, see Willard W. Cochrane, "An Appraisal of Recent Changes in Agricultural Programs in the United States," *ibid.* (May, 1957), pp. 285-299.

(2) allocate resources within agriculture through choice of enterprise and level of production, and (3) allocate resources between agriculture and the rest of the economy. From the point of view of the economy as a whole, farm prices are a cost to consumers and affect both intermediate consumers—manufacturers, processors, and handlers—and the final consuming units, the households. Furthermore, they affect the health of the over-all economy through the interaction between agriculture and other industries, and through the effective demand of farm families as consuming units. In the next sections, we want to compare the way these functions are performed by free prices and by administered prices in the real world.

Economic Effects of Free and Administered Prices in Agriculture

We now have before us the nature of the agricultural problem, a summary of pricing policies considered under the terms "free" and "administered," and a brief statement of the theoretical functions of a pricing system. To the extent that any pricing system can do so, the pricing system chosen should be one that will tend to solve our agricultural problem, or at least will not be inconsonant with its solution. Let us now look at each of the functions of a pricing system and consider in turn how well free prices and administered prices perform that function in terms of solving the agricultural problem.

Income.—Except for war periods, when demand is high, *free prices* in agriculture in recent years generally have meant relatively low prices and low net incomes to farmers. And for the foreseeable future, free prices will continue to mean low prices and low net incomes. The low prices are primarily a result of the inelasticity of demand for agricultural products and the high level of production, which is largely due to marked technological advances. These long-run factors have been discussed more fully in the statement of the agricultural problem. In the short run, it must be recognized that even with a balance between productive capacity and effective demand under free prices, agricultural income in any one year may be depressed because of above-normal production.

The establishment of free prices in agriculture would leave unaffected the administered prices in the rest of the economy from whence the farmer must purchase. Consequently, in a period of low prices in agriculture, the farmer will be caught in a cost-price squeeze that will drastically curtail his real net income.

In *administered-price* policies, there is a basic assumption that when the price floor comes into effect (or payments are received by farmers), farm income will be increased over what it would be with free prices. There is little doubt that, in the short run, administered prices do increase the income of some farmers, but not all farmers share equally in the benefits.

Farmers with crop failures or abnormally low yields do not benefit as do those with normal or larger yields. In addition, not all farm products may be covered by the administered programs. Less than half of all farm-product sales in 1955 were of products under mandatory price-support programs.⁷ Furthermore, not all farmers have big enough farm enterprises to benefit significantly from programs administratively increasing farm-product prices, even in the short run. And the final effect on income depends on the attendant farm reorganization. The importance of such reorganization is illustrated by Brewster in his provocative budget analysis for specific types of farms under long-term normal conditions and 1956 economic conditions.⁸

In the long run, increased income from administered prices tends to be capitalized into land values, especially when the program is tied to acreage controls.⁹ One example is the tobacco program, where tobacco allotments have been capitalized into land values. This means windfall benefits to tobacco farmers starting the program, or inheriting the land, but higher land costs to new farmers acquiring land in subsequent years. Or in a marketing-control program, benefits would tend to be capitalized into the value of the certificate. Nevertheless, such capitalization takes place slowly and affects income only when contractual rents are increased or farms are purchased.

Who stands to benefit from administered prices? Farmers with sizable farm enterprises, namely, the larger commercial farmers, producing the commodities covered. (Calling these "larger commercial farms" does not indicate that they are not family farms; rather they are primarily the efficient-sized family farms.) Furthermore, the larger the sales of covered commodities, the more benefit will accrue when support levels come into play.

The 40 per cent of the farms that produced less than \$1,200 worth of farm products for sale in 1954, or in the aggregate only 3 per cent of all sales, certainly are not affected by administered prices to any important degree; their problems are not solved thereby (Table 1). In some cases, these are not low-income families at all, but the farms are operated by part-time farmers with considerable income from nonfarm sources. But the bulk of the cases concern families living in rural slums, families with retirement and old-age problems, and other low-income situations. Administered prices will not significantly raise the income of this group. (Approaches other than

⁷ Committee for Economic Development, *Toward a Realistic Farm Program* (December, 1957), p. 15.

⁸ John M. Brewster, *Farm Resources Needed for Specified Income Levels*, Agricultural Information Bulletin No. 180 (Washington, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1957), pp. 51-56.

⁹ Of course, price-support programs have been only one factor in the marked increase in land values of recent years.

through the pricing mechanism are needed. The Rural Development Program is a recent step, though as yet a small one, in this direction.)

Among the commercial farmers selling farm products worth \$1,200 or more, many operators of the smaller units have their farm income increased only a little by administered prices over what they would be with free prices. More direct help can be given them through programs such as the Farmers Home Administration, which can aid them in obtaining more efficient-sized units.

TABLE 1

Distribution of Farms and Sales of Farm Products by Economic Class of Farm, United States, 1954

<i>Economic class</i>	<i>Percentage of All Farms</i>	<i>Percentage of Market Sales</i>
All farms	100	100
Commercial farms selling farm products worth:		
\$25,000 and over	3	31
10,000-24,999	9	27
5,000- 9,999	15	21
2,500- 4,999	17	12
1,200- 2,499	16	6
Other farms (part-time, residential, and commercial farms selling less than \$1,200 worth of farm products)	40	3

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1954 Census of Agriculture* (Washington).

Resource allocation and level of production within agriculture.—In the real world, economic forces work slowly and imperfectly. This is true even in agriculture, which is often cited as the sector of the economy that comes closest to the model of pure and perfect competition. Even if agricultural prices were completely free from government intervention, *free prices* would only imperfectly induce adjustments toward the competitive norm.¹⁰

¹⁰ Brandow has given a concise statement of the competitive norm in agriculture: "... in an adjusted agriculture individual farms would be producing the products in which they had the greatest comparative advantage, farms would be of such size that unit production costs were at a minimum, inputs would be used in such combinations and amounts that marginal costs equalled marginal revenues, and both quantities of resources used in agriculture and the volume of farm input would be such that market prices enabled earnings of labor and capital in farming to be comparable with those outside of agriculture, nonmonetary factors taken into account."—G. E. Brandow, "Alternatives to Orthodox Programs and Goals of Agricultural Adjustment," *Journal of Farm Economics* (December, 1957), p. 1634.

On an individual farm the effectiveness of free prices in guiding the farmer's choices among alternative enterprises is limited by the physical characteristics of his area, restricted capital resources, and his unfamiliarity with farming methods for alternative enterprises. The farmer may be inept at judging the significance of price trends in the face of the high variability and uncertainty of farm prices. He may be reluctant to make drastic adjustments to expected price changes because of his position in the family-life cycle. In spite of these limitations, free prices are partially effective in guiding the selection of enterprises.

For a particular enterprise, prices are relatively effective guides in determining the optimum level of production on larger commercial farms. But on a smaller-scale unit with a high proportion of fixed cost, there may well be a tendency to produce at capacity regardless of expected price decreases.¹¹ (In any given year, of course, the production response to expected price change is clouded by the effect of weather and pests.)

Free agricultural prices are so highly variable and uncertain that farm prices do not serve as reliable guides to farmers in making their production decisions. Much has been written along this line.¹² With such price uncertainty, farmers may not be able to utilize their resources efficiently since many of their decisions may later turn out to have been inappropriate. They may delay changing production methods, switching enterprises, or modifying the size of their farms, even though such adjustments would have been profitable in terms of the actual prices.

From the above, it follows that even in a free market the agricultural industry's supply response to changes in expected relative prices is slow and imperfect, and is difficult to measure. Furthermore, the agricultural supply curve is irreversible; the same curve will not be retraced when prices fall as when prices increase.

Now let us look at the effect of *administered prices* on resource allocation and the level of production within agriculture. One of the contributions of administered prices toward more efficient resource allocation is that administered prices may markedly decrease price variability and uncertainty. Johnson has said of current price-support programs that the corn and wheat programs have not greatly reduced price variability but that in cotton and tobacco, the reduction has been quite significant.¹³

The effect of administered prices in directing resource allocation among

¹¹ John M. Brewster was one of the earlier economists to recognize this latter point. See John M. Brewster and Howard L. Parsons, "Can Prices Allocate Resources in American Agriculture?" *Journal of Farm Economics* (November, 1946), p. 957.

¹² For example, see D. Gale Johnson, "Farm Prices, Resource Use and Farm Income," *Policy for Commercial Agriculture*, pp. 455-456.

¹³ *Ibid.*

various enterprises depends on the particular system of prices. When the administered-price system has allotments tied to a historical base, poor resource allocation among farm enterprises tends to be perpetuated. It is conceivable that a set of administered prices could be designed with inner relationships that would induce needed adjustments. However, the commodity approach to the agricultural problem—a very real factor in designing legislation and administering programs—plus human error and difficulty in interpreting demand make it difficult to conceive of a situation where administered prices would be as good a guide for resource allocation among enterprises as free-market prices.

Since administered prices may be higher than free prices, an agricultural supply greater than demand at that price will result unless the particular program has adequate features to control supply. During the recent war and rehabilitation years, the support prices often were not operative; free-market prices often were higher than the support level and the parity ratio was above 100, even going up to 115 in 1947 (1910–14 = 100). In general, agriculture was not overexpanded for those markets. But in the years when support prices have been operative, the supply-control features tried have not effectively reduced production to the desired level, and resulting government-held stocks have received wide public attention. The devices tried have tended largely to shift production from one enterprise to another. The most recent attempt—the resurrection and slight modification of the 1936–37 Soil Conservation Program under the new name of Soil Bank—is superimposing a program to reduce aggregate farm production onto existing farm programs. It remains to be seen how effective it is in reducing production, since 1957 was its first full year of operation. (The Administration has already recommended abolishing the Acreage Reserve Program after 1958; the longer-run Conservation Reserve Program would be continued.) More stringent production-control programs have not been given extensive trial. Theoretically, at least, it is possible to design production- or marketing-control programs that would work, provided the producer groups involved were willing to accept them.

Resource allocation between agriculture and rest of economy.—Free prices in agriculture do not induce adjustments close to the competitive norm in which returns to labor and capital in farming are comparable with those in other sectors of the economy. The striking, and often commented on, excess is agricultural labor and the attendant large number of inefficient-sized farm units.

Contrary to the expectations of orthodox theory, low prices and low farm income do not drive people off the farms in any great numbers, nor do they effectively decrease the number of farm units operated. Instead, important

movements out of agriculture come primarily in response to the pull of attractive nonfarm employment opportunities. When farm prices were relatively high and off-farm employment opportunities good during the 1920's, people moved off the farm, though the decrease in the number of farm units was slight (Table 2). In the early 1930's, when farm prices were low and nonfarm employment opportunities extremely limited, farm population backed up on the farms. Almost as many people returned to farms as left, so the net migration from farms was negligible, far less than the natural increase in farm population. Then in the 1940's and 1950's, as employment opportunities off the farm increased and as farmers' awareness of these opportunities increased, farm population moved off the farms much more rapidly, and the number of farm units decreased sharply. This occurred in spite of the fact that prices received by farmers were good during most of the years following 1940. The parity ratio was 100 or above from 1942 through 1952. (The off-farm movement was slowed down for a while following the Second World War by the return of veterans.) Since 1951, prices received by farmers have decreased, and the parity ratio has declined. However, off-farm employment opportunities continued to be excellent, and movement from agriculture continued.

Now consider per-capita income of farm people from farming and the per-capita income of nonfarm people. In general, farm and nonfarm income have shown the same long-run trends, but with farm income at a markedly lower level (Table 3). The disparity is even sharper if allowance is made for the capital investment of commercial farmers. The spread between farm and nonfarm earnings is so great that it contributes to the pull of people from farms without regard to minor variations in the relative farm-nonfarm income levels.

The fact that low prices per se do not drive people out of agriculture, coupled with the fact that much of the migration from farms is offset by children born to farm people, is the reason many economists are advocating direct programs to facilitate the movement of labor from agriculture to other sectors of the economy during times of high employment opportunities in addition to whatever price program is advocated.¹⁴ However, direct programs by themselves cannot conceivably be of sufficient magnitude to raise the return to those farmers remaining in agriculture to a level comparable with the nonfarm sector within a reasonable length of time. Baker has estimated that to get farm income to parity by this method alone would require a cut in farm population from over 20 million to approximately 10 million, and a reduction in the number of farms from a little less than 5 million to

¹⁴ A recent example is John S. Spratt, "Agriculture—Time for a Change," paper presented at the Texas Academy of Science, Southern Methodist University, December, 1957.

TABLE 2

Changes in Farm Population, Changes in Number of Farms, and Average Prices Received by Farmers, 1920 to 1956

Years	Changes in Farm Population				Excess of Births over Deaths Mil.	Changes in Number of Farms Thou.	Prices Received by Farmers, Annual Average (1910-14 = 100)		Parity Ratio, Annual Average (1910-14 = 100) Percentage
	Migration		Net* Mil.	Farms Mil.			Farms Mil.	Percentage	
	From Farms Mil.	To Farms Mil.							
1920-24	- 8.7	5.4	-3.3	2.5	- 47	150	89		
1925-29	-10.7	7.8	-3.0	2.3	+ 75	147	91		
1930-34	- 7.8	7.5	-0.3	1.9	+268	87	69		
1935-39	- 7.6	4.1	-3.5	1.9	-464	107	86		
1940-44	-11.5	4.4	-7.2	1.9	-383	155	100		
1945-49	- 9.9	7.5	-2.4	2.1	-319	251	109		
1950-54	- 7.8	3.0	-4.8	1.9	-561	271	98		
1955-56	- 3.4	1.0	-2.5	0.7	-231	236	83		

* May not cross-add because of rounding.

Source: Agricultural Marketing Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture (Washington).

TABLE 3

Per-Capita Income of Farm and Nonfarm People

<i>Per-Capita Income</i>	1935	1940	1945	1950	1955
Farm people					
From farming	\$182	\$173	\$ 554	\$ 617	\$ 613
From all sources	244	262	720	828	898
Nonfarm people	517	685	1,312	1,575	1,932

Source: Agricultural Marketing Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture (Washington).

approximately 2.2 million.¹⁵ To do this quickly (say, in ten years) would involve tremendous social dislocation of both rural and urban areas.

In addition, land is far less flexible than labor. When the small producers do leave, total agricultural production may not decrease in the short run as expected. In most cases, the farm units that they leave are consolidated with other farm units. Furthermore, such consolidation is often done by farmers with more capital and managerial efficiency than those leaving, so, as Heady has noted, the short-run increase in efficiency may well add to surpluses.¹⁶ In the long run, decreases in the number of farms should reduce output, but only if agricultural land is removed from production in sufficient quantities to more than offset the effects of greater efficiencies of production resulting from farm consolidations and the adoption of improved technologies.

Even with administered prices the disparity between farm and nonfarm income has been great. Of particular significance in this discussion is the fact that higher administered prices do not impede significantly the needed migration from farming to nonfarm jobs. In fact, somewhat higher farm income may well facilitate movement out of agriculture by giving farm families more capital to finance shifts. Especially may the higher income help them finance the shift of their children into nonfarm jobs.

The bulk of the shift of farm operators out of agriculture has come from farmers operating the smaller farm units, who, as we have seen above, received few benefits from administered prices. This is, of course, the group most needing to be pulled out of agriculture. Many farm families have made the first step toward getting completely out of agriculture by turning to part-time farming. They thus test and expand their nonfarm skills and interest in nonfarm work, and they gain more capital to finance a move to an urban center or to finance needed farm adjustments to get a more efficient unit if they decide to return to full-time farming. From 1950 to 1954, there was a

¹⁵ J. A. Baker, "Full Flexibility Will Not Solve Farm Income Problem—Farmers Need Stronger Bargaining Power in Markets," *Policy for Commercial Agriculture*, p. 466.

¹⁶ Earl O. Heady, "Progress in Adjusting Agriculture to Economic Change," *Journal of Farm Economics* (December, 1957), pp. 1344, 1346.

marked decrease in the number of small commercial farms (those selling less than \$2,500 worth of farm products); in fact, the decrease in commercial farms was almost entirely from this group. Some of these small-scale farmers went into part-time farming and some went completely out of agriculture; some moved into a larger-farm class. Some part-time farmers have gone out of agriculture. The net movement from 1950 to 1954 was a decrease in the number of part-time farmers as well as in the number of operators of small commercial units.¹⁷

As for the difficulty of shifting land out of agricultural production, administered prices are not incompatible with land adjustment. Programs such as the Soil Bank directly attempt to shift land out of agricultural production.

Effect on the over-all economy.—First let us consider the effect of the alternative pricing policies on prices paid by the ultimate consumer. Administered prices of the current price-support type may mean higher prices to consumers than would occur in a free market when they come into play to put a floor under farm income. The extent of the difference depends on the commodity and the proportion of the retail price going to the farmer. In a price-support program, a large part of the cost of the help to farmers is hidden in consumer prices and is paid by the middle- and lower-income families of the nation. On the other hand, programs of direct payments to farmers permit market prices to be free, and all the costs are openly defrayed through taxation, primarily progressive taxation.

It is very difficult to estimate the cost of a price-support program to the consumer in the market place, though we do know the tax cost. However, a few suggestions about the costs of current price-support programs to the final consumer are available. Black estimates that the prices set under most of the sixty-seven milkshed orders come close to being what the free-market price would be; the exception is the few milksheds where cheaper outside milk is excluded.¹⁸ Motheral approaches the estimating problem by arguing that the lower limit of the possible free-market price can be indicated by assuming that the farmer gives away his farm produce. Even in that extreme case, the \$4.00 shirt would drop only to \$3.68, a 21-cent loaf of bread to 18 cents, and a 30-cent package of cigarettes to 25.4 cents.¹⁹ This is, of course, an overstatement of the cost of the present support program to the consumer. More precise estimates are beyond the scope of this paper.

The public-interest aspect of prices includes not only prices paid by consumers but the fact that the country needs a prosperous agriculture. Admin-

¹⁷ Jackson V. McElveen, *Family Farms in a Changing Economy*, Agricultural Informational Bulletin No. 171 (Washington, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1957), pp. 31-33.

¹⁸ Black, *op. cit.*, p. 663.

¹⁹ Joe R. Motheral, "Farm People in the United States—Discussion," *Journal of Farm Economics* (December, 1957), p. 1632.

istered prices put a floor under prices or payments received by farmers, and they come automatically into play to support the income of commercial farmers when market forces would otherwise depress farm prices. They therefore contribute to economic stability in a recession. It is true that the farm population is now only 12 per cent of the total population of this country. However, the buying power of the farm family is of importance in keeping the total economy on an even keel, and administered prices are a form of automatic stabilizer, which has a definite place in an adequate fiscal program. With our given political setup, the automatic nature of such programs is most important because they go into effect before legislators have time to size up the situation and design adequate new counterdepression measures. The particular form of the administered-price program would determine its effectiveness as an automatic counterdepression measure. In general, the direct-payment program would be more efficient in this regard than the current program of price supports. Free agricultural prices may well add to the forces of recession or depression.

Thoughts on Final Choice of Price Policy

It is possible that agreement could be obtained on many or all of the above economic consequences of the two price policies yet disagreement prevail as to the policy that is best on economic grounds because of the divergence in the weights used to summarize the various economic aspects.

A pivotal point in summarizing the economic consequences is whether the probable problem of resource allocation among agricultural enterprises brought about by administered prices or the income problems of commercial farm families brought about by free-market prices is judged to be greater in the foreseeable future. The impact of administered prices on supplies of farm products and on prices paid by consumers and on cost to taxpayers depends on the particular system of administered prices used. Neither free- nor administered-price policy interferes significantly with the movement of farm people and land out of agriculture. More direct programs are needed to help small-scale and noncommercial farmers move out of agriculture. The final answer as to free or administered prices in agriculture must also take into consideration noneconomic aspects, such as values placed on alternative goals, values placed on means used to reach the goals, political consequences, and administrative feasibility, none of which are covered in this paper.

When we summarize the economic consequences for each of the two price systems using our personal system of weights, we conclude that it is outside the realm of reasonable action to return immediately to free-market prices. Furthermore, for the foreseeable future, we cannot see that free-market prices would be preferable to administered prices in contributing to

the solution of the agricultural problem. Especially we cannot go along with the position of many that if the United States only would return to free prices in agriculture, the farm problem soon would be solved. Instead, we conclude that some form of administered prices must be used, although it is beyond the scope of this paper to consider which alternative form might be most desirable, or least undesirable. In this conclusion, no implication is intended that administered prices alone will solve the problem.

Professional economists can do a tremendous amount to clarify the discussion of the agricultural problem by pointing out the many facets of this extremely complex situation and discussing all the economic aspects of alternative solutions. Considerable work needs to be done on alternative forms of administered prices in agriculture. In our opinion, too much emphasis has been placed recently on the single-shot panacea of free prices in agriculture; instead, economists should turn their attention to developing improved forms of administered prices.

Research Grants

The University Research Institute, operating under the Graduate School of the University of Texas, has summarized its activities for 1957/58 in a series of tables. The total amount granted was \$180,288.57. However, the totals in the following tables do not add up to this sum because some small grants do not fit the categories listed.

By Academic Area

Natural sciences	\$72,196.62
Humanities	60,439.00
Social sciences	26,630.30

By Academic Rank

Professors	\$77,683.90
Associate professors	32,970.50
Assistant professors	31,530.66
Instructors	22,296.00

By Nature of Grant

Research assignment for faculty	\$76,316.32
Assistance	50,078.47
Materials	23,670.79
Publication	19,759.40

The Voting Behavior of Freshmen Congressmen

THEODORE URICH
SYRACUSE, NEW YORK

FROM WOODROW WILSON to the present day, writers on Congress have commented on the special position occupied by the freshman Senator or Representative.¹ The freshman Congressman, they suggest, is baffled and handicapped by the rules of procedure, more subject to the social lobby, forbidden by powerful custom from speaking freely, easily controllable through party discipline by the apportionment of committee assignments, and so forth. Perhaps the fullest exposition of this view is found in William White's recent book, *Citadel*.²

Curiously, however, such generalizations about the conduct of freshmen Congressmen have given little attention to the question of whether the freshman actually *votes* differently from his more senior colleagues. There have been suggestions that the first-term Representative may be more subject to party discipline, but no systematic analysis has been employed to verify or disprove the proposition. That some practicing politicians believe such a difference does exist can be illustrated by the following excerpt from *The New York Times*:

... last year Congress would give the President only a one-year extension of the trade act without changes. Last month the President renewed his request for a three-year extension of the law—that is, until June, 1958—with the same changes.

The bill came up on the House floor last Thursday. Lined up against it were the Old Guard Republicans—determined to "stop this onrush of one-worldism," as Thomas A. Jenkins of Ohio put it—plus a powerful cross-section of both parties seeking to protect home-state industries. The Administration forces were composed mainly of Democrats and led by Speaker Sam Rayburn of Texas. The atmosphere was heavy with pressure from a multitude of lobby groups.

The protectionists won a preliminary victory and by Thursday afternoon they

NOTE.—The topic and research techniques used in this paper were suggested by Professor Joseph Tanenhaus, of New York University.

¹ See, for example, Woodrow Wilson, *Congressional Government* (New York, 1956), pp. 59–69; and David Truman, *The Governmental Process* (New York, 1951), pp. 340–342.

² William White, *Citadel: The Story of the United States Senate* (New York, 1957).

were riding high. Then the Administration forces swung into action. Speaker Rayburn threw the full force of his position and prestige into the battle. He made a dramatic appeal to the House; he called freshman Democrats to a private meeting and warned them, according to one member, that if they "wanted to get along," they had better "go along" on the trade bill. Friday afternoon the President sent an urgent message to the House saying the bill would "powerfully reinforce the military and economic strength of our country" as well as the allies and promising that "no American industry" would be hurt by its passage.

The Speaker and the President turned the tide. On the key rollcall Friday, the trade bill won by seven votes.³

This paper is an attempt to determine whether freshman status had a significant influence upon voting in the House of Representatives on major policy questions during the Eighty-third and Eighty-fourth Congresses.

The method used to test the hypothesis that there is a significant difference between the voting behavior of freshman and nonfreshman members of Congress was that of quantitative analysis. To distribute the votes analyzed, roll-call votes were taken from the first sessions of both the Eighty-third and the Eighty-fourth Congresses. The House of Representatives, where a large membership makes quantification of data and the analysis of cross-tabulations more feasible than for the Senate, was studied. Sixteen votes, identified by the *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* as key votes, were tabulated.⁴

The technique used to evaluate the data was basically similar to that used in Julius Turner's study of Congressional voting.⁵ Turner's study verified the significance of party membership as a controlling element in Congressional voting. For the present study, freshmen and nonfreshmen were separated into two large groups within each party. If these groups shared all seemingly significant factors except one—freshman status—the assumption was made that the one factor common to all members of one group and to no members

³ "News of the Week," *The New York Times*, February 20, 1955. This summary of the tariff conflict could be used to illustrate any of a number of characteristics of the American political system, but the point here is that Speaker Rayburn indicated by practice his belief that freshmen are subject to special influences in voting. Other examples of the same position could be offered.

⁴ The following data on all members of the House were classified in separate categories and the information entered on McBee Keysort cards: party affiliation; age; occupation; type of Congressional district (urban, rural, mixed); margin of electoral victory (safe, close, marginal); the number of consecutive terms each member served in the House; the voting behavior of each Congressman on the sixteen key votes listed by the *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, 83d-84th Congs., 1st sess.

⁵ *Party and Constituency: Pressures on Congress* (Baltimore, 1951). Because of the focus of his study on party and constituency pressures, Turner did not deal with the variable of a Congressman's tenure of service, nor with such other internal factors as party-leadership positions, committee assignments, etc.

of the other was responsible for differences in voting. Cross-tabulations of freshmen and nonfreshmen within each party were then employed to assure that such other factors as age, constituency, occupation, etc. were not responsible for artificially creating apparent differences between freshmen and nonfreshmen.

As in Turner's study also, the chi-square test was employed to determine whether the differences in voting behavior between freshmen and nonfreshmen House members were sufficient to conclude that the status of freshman had some effect upon results. The sixteen key votes of the two Congresses were divided into two groups, one consisting of votes in which the calculations yielded a chi square of more than 2.71 between freshmen and nonfreshmen House members of the same party (significant at the 10-per-cent level) and a second category containing the key votes with chi squares of less than 2.71. For the data a chi square exceeding 2.71 indicated such a difference would occur by chance less than ten times in a hundred, and vice versa. The results of the voting are summed up in Table 1. Since party delegations were recorded separately, thirty-two votes are recorded.

Table 1 clearly indicates that a House member serving his first term did not necessarily vote differently from a nonfreshman member. In defining

TABLE 1

Votes of Thirty-two House Members on Sixteen Key Issues

<i>Congress</i>	<i>C. Q. No.*</i>	<i>Issue</i> <i>Chi Square 2.71 and over</i>	<i>Party</i>	<i>Chi Square†</i>
83d	2	Agriculture appropriations	Rep.	7.83
83d	1	143 Wing Air Force	Dem.	3.56
83d	8	Niagara Power Bill	Rep.	2.83
84th	6	Natural Gas Bill	Dem.	7.70
84th	5	Highway construction	Dem.	5.00
84th	7	Public housing	Dem.	3.07
<i>Chi Square under 2.71</i>				
83d	3	Independent office appropriations		
83d	4	Mutual Security appropriations		
83d	5	Tidelands Bill		
83d	6	Excess profit tax on corporations		
83d	7	Hawaiian statehood		
83d	9	Public-debt increase		
84th	1	Extension of reciprocal trade		
84th	2	Excess profit tax on corporations		
84th	3	Flexible farm support		
84th	4	Hawaiian statehood		

* Numbers assigned to the key votes by the *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, 83d-84th Congs., 1st sess.

† When a preliminary tabulation showed the chi square would be below the 10-per-cent level of significance, the chi square was not actually calculated. Hence no chi-square numbers are shown for votes below 2.71.

how a House member behaves, the characteristic of being a freshman only slightly influenced his voting behavior compared to such factors as party, constituency, and regional pressures.⁶ The statistical test used was the chi-square measure of confidence at the 10-per-cent level. Using this test, a difference between groups of legislators selected by chance would have occurred three out of thirty-two times. It actually appeared, however, between freshmen and nonfreshmen in six out of thirty-two. This is enough to justify the finding that freshman status is of slight importance, but not of major significance, in voting.⁷

The most influential factor in determining a House member's voting behavior was his party membership. In the Eighty-third Congress, the Democratic freshman majority coincided with the majority among Democratic nonfreshmen on seven out of nine issues; in the Eighty-fourth Congress, on five of seven. Among the Republicans in the Eighty-third Congress, the freshmen House members coincided with the nonfreshman majority on all nine issues, and in six of seven cases in the Eighty-fourth. With relatively few exceptions, newcomers vote with their party rather than with one another.

An attempt was made to determine whether such differences as do exist between freshmen and nonfreshmen were consistently in the direction of greater discipline of freshmen, of their more vigorous support of the position of the party majority. A crude test, calculating the average deviation of the percentage of freshmen voting with the party majority from the percentage of nonfreshmen, showed +7.4 Republicans and -2.1 Democrats in the Eighty-third Congress; +4.8 Republicans and +3.4 Democrats in the Eighty-fourth. The general direction of the difference does appear to be toward greater support of the party position. The one exception in four is, appropriately enough, the Democratic freshmen of the Eighty-third Congress, elected for the first time in the Eisenhower year of 1952 and presumably responsive to the general tide of sentiment. The differences are too slight, however, to justify pushing the analysis very far.

It also appears that freshmen and nonfreshmen House members of both parties who come from similar types of constituencies or regions developed fairly consistent voting patterns. It seems that House members were greatly influenced by politically important pressure groups that originated from their constituency or region. It might be hypothesized that if freshmen were uninformed as to the relative weight to be given these pressures, they "took their cues" from more senior Representatives of like districts. However, the

⁶ Data on these subjects, which would duplicate Turner's findings, are not summarized here.

⁷ Because the finding was largely negative, it seems unnecessary to explore in detail the cross-tabulations that might otherwise explain the (nonexistent) difference between freshmen and nonfreshmen.

pattern was inconsistent, depending on the kind of issue and the unity of the party leadership.

In summary, there are many pressures that influence the voting behavior of a House member. When a House member goes to Washington he represents his party, his constituents, and the region in which his state is located. In comparison to these pressures, a freshman status has only a slight impact on a House member's voting behavior. This largely negative finding does not, of course, justify an assertion that the alleged differences in the behavior of freshmen and nonfreshmen Congressmen do not exist. Individuals may differ widely in loquacity in floor debate, in influence upon committee action, etc. It does appear, however, that the differences do not extend to recorded roll-call votes on major legislation. It is important to remember, nevertheless, that the votes dealt with in this study are all matters of major policy importance. It might be suggested that differences between freshmen and nonfreshmen Congressmen would be more likely to appear in procedural votes, particularly those concerned with the customs and precedents of the parliamentary body. The only attempt to apply the analysis to such a vote, however, proved unrewarding. The Senate rejected by a 56-19 vote during the Eighty-third Congress a resolution offered by Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, adding Senator Morse to the Armed Service Committee after Morse had bolted the Republican party and been removed from his committee seat by Republican leadership. It might be anticipated that freshmen Senators would show less deference to the time-honored seniority rule than veteran Senators and display more willingness to support Morse. Such was not the case. Excluding Senator Morse himself (a nonfreshman), the vote was: freshmen voting yes, 11; voting no, 30; nonvoting, 3; nonfreshmen voting yes, 11; voting no, 30; nonvoting, 9.⁸

⁸ These figures include declarations of intention to vote as recorded by the *Congressional Quarterly*. Clearly there was no difference between freshmen and nonfreshmen on this vote. Ralph Huitt has pointed out that the significant cleavage actually divided liberal and conservative Senators in both parties.—Huitt, "The Morse Committee Assignment Controversy: A Case Study," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 51 (June, 1957), pp. 313-329.

Book Reviews

Edited by

H. MALCOLM MACDONALD

THOMAS E. COTNER and CARLOS E. CASTAÑEDA (eds.): *Essays in Mexican History*. Austin, The Institute of Latin American Studies, 1958. 309 pages. \$4.50.

The untimely death of Charles W. Hackett in 1951 ended a long and distinguished career at the University of Texas. Few men in the field of Latin-American studies have contributed as much as Professor Hackett, both through his writings and through the many young men and women who attended his classes and who wrote theses under him. Now a number of his former graduate students have joined together to bring out this volume of essays in his honor. Although Professor Hackett's students wrote on topics from the American Southwest to Tierra del Fuego, this book—to give it cohesion—concentrates on Mexico. But even here it is interesting to see the wide range of subjects. The essays deal with Mexican history from the colonial era to the Revolution of 1910. Most are directed at the nineteenth century, however, probably because of the close connection between Texas and Mexico in those years, and, of course, because of the excellent manuscript and book collections in the University of Texas' library. There are only two essays on the Revolution, which is somewhat surprising in

view of Professor Hackett's own interest in that movement.

It is a difficult book to review. For one thing, the essays are varied and uneven. Some, notably those of Nettie Lee Benson, Jack A. Dabbs, and Horace V. Harrison, raise interesting historical questions and attempt to answer them. Others simply rehash old familiar themes. For another, as a *Festschrift* it is a well-intentioned book. Yet the intentions do not serve to hide the basic faults, and these must be noted. The outsider detects a certain provinciality and narrowness of horizon in these students. For instance, the essayists never speak of expeditions from Mexico to the northern frontier, but rather of *entradas* into Texas, as though that state were an entity even before the advent of the Spaniards. With understandable, but exaggerated, enthusiasm Florence Johnson Scott writes: "North American history does not include another story or even a legend comparable to the successful colonization procedures" used by José de Escandón in the valley of the Rio Grande. They were superior in results, she says, to the Odyssey of Homer. But even more serious is the fact that almost all the essays were apparently written without the authors' having left Austin to do research. Although the University of Texas is the closest major university to Mexican

archives, only two of the essayists got to Mexico City. Only three of the fifteen used materials in Washington, though several wrote on topics in diplomatic history. Several relied heavily or almost exclusively on secondary works, some of these of dubious value. A case in point is Merrill Rippy's use of *Robbery Under Law*, by Evelyn Waugh, in his essay on the oil industry. I doubt that Waugh could be considered an expert on either Mexico or petroleum. And if Rippy had worked in Mexican materials he could never have written that the entire oil industry was nationalized in 1938. There are today many private oil companies in Mexico, and at least one American firm, the New England Oil Company, still operates near Tampico.

The value of this book lies not so much in the essays themselves, for twelve of the fifteen are simply carved from Ph.D. or master's theses, but rather in pointing out the numerous possibilities for research in Mexican history if students are willing or able to use the many archival materials available in Mexico and Washington, as well as the University of Texas. It is pertinent that the two best essays, those of Frank Knapp, Jr. and C. Alan Hutchinson, were based, at least in part, on papers in the National Archives.

Robert E. Quirk
Indiana University

R. WALLACE BREWSTER: *Government in Modern Society*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1958. 619 pages. \$6.95.

This is a general introductory text in government with, as the title page states, "emphasis on American institutions."

Actually the word "emphasis" is almost an understatement. The book is practically a complete text in American national government, though it is considerably more than that. There is a certain amount of comparative government, most of it having to do with the British system, plus occasional allusions to the institutions of France, Canada, Switzerland, and Soviet Russia. Considerable stress also is laid on political theory, with three fairly lengthy chapters on the current "isms," as well as some historical material dealing with the various theories of the state.

The discussion of civil rights is especially good. It clarifies the problem of such rights in our federal system—a matter which confuses many students. The treatment of liberalism is also valuable with its distinction between the eighteenth-century liberalism of *laissez faire* and twentieth-century liberalism of government intervention and regulation. The sharp distinction between democratic socialism and Marxist communism is well brought out. There is an interesting and informative contrast between the American and British civil-service systems.

Like many current textbooks, this one includes a considerable number of charts purporting to illustrate the interrelations of administrative organizations. Since these charts tend to become more and more complicated it seems questionable, to this reviewer, at any rate, whether they would not tend to confuse rather than enlighten the average student. Brewster has one practice which may be of value to the student but which is rather annoying to the general reader—that of summarizing at the end of every chapter and sometimes in the middle of the chapters as well.

On the other hand, his footnotes supply an astonishingly full bibliography of the subjects discussed. They are particularly complete on the recent literature and comprise one of the most valuable features of the book.

J. H. Leek
University of Oklahoma

PAUL W. SCHROEDER: *The Axis Alliance and Japanese-American Relations, 1941*. Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University Press for the American Historical Association, 1958. 245 pages. \$4.50.

The revision of "prevailing interpretations" of history, always a demanding task, becomes peculiarly difficult when the topic involves the failures on both sides of policy and diplomacy that led inexorably to the Japanese attack upon the United States in 1941. The historian must beware of the strong passions still aroused by this topic, must wade through documentation by now enormous, and must avoid all blandishments of shoddy "great conspiracy" theorizing. All of this Schroeder accomplishes admirably.

He demolishes the Beard-Tansill-Morgenstern-Theobald school in three sentences turning on the key phrase "quite incredible." He masters the massive material of the Pearl Harbor investigation, the Tokyo trials, and the most reliable English-language sources. Using new interpretations drawn from these sources, he finds it relatively easy to rip the weak seams in the fabric of politically inspired self-justification woven by officialdom, notably Hull, Stimson, and Hornbeck. He cannot resist a few acid comments about Hull's

"theoretical diplomacy," "adherence to rigid doctrine," "profound pessimism," and "all-or-nothing attitude," but he dwells here only briefly. His real villains are far less persons than forces. In several brilliant passages suggestive of the inevitability of Greek tragedy, he holds responsible for the disaster of war "doctrinaire" United States support of "morality" and "principle," the inflexibility of United States policy, the insensitivity of United States diplomacy, and the misguided unrealism of United States public opinion. He is less concerned over Japanese responsibility, though the menace or arrogance of Matsuoka-Tojo policies, the vacillations of Konoye, and the well-known constitutional peculiarities all receive attention.

His greatest contribution is to start splits in the tougher material of strong scholarly studies such as those of Langer and Gleason, and Feis. Here this deliberately and excellently controversial book, which involves yet goes beyond a skilled demonstration of the validity of Ambassador Grew's position, must be noted as one of the most vigorous, honestly reasoned, and effective assaults yet made on the "prevailing interpretations."

There are two weaker chapters in the book and a very interesting, though not wholly essential, epilogue. The introductory background chapter sidesteps a few too many debatable issues. The eighth chapter, bitterly belaboring the stupidities of American public opinion, has a well-taken point vitiated by relatively narrow selectivity. The minute group of "Asia specialists" and the small-circulation "intellectual" and "expert" journals undoubtedly helped disproportionately to shape opinion, but

mass-circulation magazines and newspapers probably played a larger role than Schroeder suggests.

The valuable core of the book—Chapters 2 through 7—takes the title's two themes in reverse order. The 1941 breakdown of negotiations is attributed partly to the State Department's inconsistently held and possibly irrelevant concern over the Axis Pact, but more importantly to the belated, *intransigent*, and strategically unwise pressing of the China issue. The second theme demonstrates successfully Japan's opportunism, desperation, and domestic political struggle involved in the acceptance of the Pact, as well as the State Department's failure or refusal to notice that the Pact was, in reality, stillborn.

Not all readers will agree with Schroeder's emphases or guesswork. They may not accept, for example, his optimism about the chances for success of an ill-prepared Roosevelt-Konoye meeting, his hope that Konoye might have prevailed over the Tojo-backed momentum toward war, his minimizing of the Imperial Conference of September 6, 1941, his "realistic" downgrading of American strategic interest in China, his use of the "economic strangulation" argument, or his relative neglect of wider balance-of-power considerations. But after reading Schroeder's splendidly restrained and careful conclusion in Chapter 9, they will be forced to admit that he has examined fairly-mindedly each of their criticisms and they will be hard put to it to deny the compelling plausibility of his intelligent revisionism.

Alan Burr Overstreet
Smith College

RALEIGH BARLOWE: *Land Resource Economics*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice Hall, Inc., 1958. 585 pages. \$12.00.

In this publication the author ambitiously undertakes to cover the rural and urban land-resource problems in combination. This objective is implied by the subtitle: *The Political Economy of Rural and Urban Land Resource Use*.

On the whole Barlowe has done a detailed and thorough job of bringing together a multitude of references and authors into an organized presentation. Much in this book will be of use to teachers and students in both rural and urban land-economics and in real-estate classes, but the emphasis is mainly on rural land-economics. He considers certain newer developments in the field of land economics, for example, benefit-cost considerations and their implications for policy. From the problem standpoint—an objective aimed at by the author, according to the jacket—his two chapters "Planning for Better Land Use" and "Public Measures for Directing Land Use" are practical yet thorough reading for students. Some chapters, such as "Economic Returns to Land Resources," are more impressive and all-inclusive than others.

On the minus side, the organization of the book is inadequate as a problem study of land economics. For example, the concept of property rights, to which at least a major portion of land-economics problems are related, is relegated to Chapter 12, whereas chapters on economic returns and property values as well as other chapters which discuss property rights and their control are in earlier portions of the book.

Another limiting factor is the lack of thorough consideration of land resources as a function of technology, a criticism that can be said to be common of land-economics textbooks. Land economists have yet to formalize a much-needed theory in relation to resources as a function of technology. While Barlowe recognizes technology as a prime factor in resources, he dismisses the subject with some two pages of discussion, and with only a paragraph or two in his chapter on resource conservation. Since the book does lack a thorough consideration of this matter, it cannot be considered at the moment to cover the basic problems and issues of rural and urban land economics.

This reviewer recommends the book as one with possibilities for use as a general textbook with certain rearrangement for class presentation and study. Soil conservationists and others dealing with land problems will want to study certain chapters. Though published at \$12.00, the price has been reduced considerably since publication.

John H. Southern
U.S. Department of Agriculture

ROLLO E. WICKS: *Man and Modern Society*. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1958. 462 pages. \$6.00.

This general social-science text is "intended to show how we acquire the knowledge, skill, ideas, and responsibilities which enable us to play our respective roles in . . . technological society . . . and some of the factors which determine the kind of life we can make

by living and working with others." It is organized in three parts: "Foundations of Society," "Major Social Institutions," and "Social Problems of a Technological Society." Part One considers our biological nature, the natural environment, the cultural environment, and science and technology. The second part sketches the role of the major institutions in "enabling man to live and work with others for the satisfaction of our basic needs": family, education, economic institutions, government, religion. Part Three discusses some of the major social problems, including economic problems of a stable economy and conflicting economic interests, consumption, conservation, democracy, fascism, communism, health, education in a technological society, and human rights. The problems described and analyzed are those of major import, ones that have risen from "the faulty organization or malfunctioning of society's institutions."

The organization of the book is not merely a survey of the social sciences, but attempts to draw on the facts and concepts from the various social sciences. The conversational manner of presentation is commendable, for a text should be one in which the writer "speaks to the students." This book, however, does not have enough depth; it deals too heavily with "high points." It is designed for students at the freshman and sophomore level, but it is not challenging enough for sophomores. A one-semester text, it has charts, graphs, and well-chosen photographs.

A. Stephen Stephan
University of Arkansas

HAROLD F. LUSK: *Law of the Real Estate Business*. Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1958. 377 pages. \$5.50.

The author's stated purpose is to present a nontechnical book on real-estate law to meet three needs: first and most important, as a reference for people engaged in the real-estate business; second, as a text in college courses in real-estate law; and third, as a handy volume for the practicing attorney in his everyday activities. This is a big assignment. The author succeeded in writing a condensed reference book for people engaged in the real-estate business, but in doing this, he weakened the book as a text; and it will be of limited use to a practicing attorney.

The scope of the book is similar to that of several others on real-estate law already in the field. Areas covered are: real-estate brokerage relationships; development, building, management, and appraisal; loan institutions; personal property and fixtures; rights in real estate; co-ownership; acquisition of title by conveyance, descent, devise, and adverse possession; recording and evidence of title; contract to sell; escrow; contract to build; mortgages, deeds of trust, and land contracts; statutory liens; landlord and tenant; restrictions and zoning; and eminent domain.

Its use as a text in a college course in real-estate law is limited by the condensation of material and the lack of cases and other illustrative material. Cases are cited (but not summarized) in the footnotes. Furthermore, elaboration of some points would be beneficial and

some points now omitted should be added.

Persons engaged in the real-estate business who want a handy guide will find this nontechnical volume a useful addition to their reference books. All in all, this book should help the real-estate businessman to "recognize the legal problems involved in the transactions which he will negotiate and to appreciate the necessity of obtaining the counsel of an expert—the competent attorney." This is a worthwhile goal. An ignorant broker or salesman is fully as dangerous as a dishonest one; and there is probably more ignorance than dishonesty in the business.

Sydney C. Reagan
Southern Methodist University

JOSEPH T. DRAKE: *The Aged in American Society*. New York, The Ronald Press Company, 1958. 431 pages. \$5.50.

This is one of the first efforts to compile under one cover an array of rapidly expanding literature and data on the sociology of the aged in contemporary American society. The book is divided into five major parts. Part I, "Adjustment of the Aged to Societies," comprises a historical survey of the status of the elderly in agrarian and urban societies, along with an appraisal of the demographic characteristics of the aging population in the United States. Part II, "Labor Force Status of the Aged," surveys the employment status of the over-65-age population, including problems of obtaining work and preparation for retirement. Part III, "Meeting Eco-

nomic Needs," encompasses such topics as income needs and sources, old-age assistance and survivors insurance programs, and public and private retirement and pension systems. Part IV, "Characteristics of the Aging," presents data on the physical and psychosocial traits of our senior citizens. Part V, "Society and Its Aging Population," surveys homes for the aged, problems of recreation and education, and gives some indications of the elderly population's becoming increasingly regarded as a minority group in contemporary American society. A selected bibliography is also included.

Drake has confined his presentation to empirical data and conclusions predicated upon research findings from an extremely diverse array of sources. The style, very clear and nontechnical, is conducive to rapid comprehension by any reader. However, the depth of many aspects of the analyses is often restrained, journalistic, and precursory. Particularly disappointing to this reviewer were the chapters on the "physiosomatic" and psychosocial characteristics of the aged, a realm wherein an enormous and constantly expanding literature prevails and in which new and bold thinking and contributions of a more sociologic nature would be anticipated in a treatise of this kind. A more minor criticism concerns the questionable balance of subject matter and topics, with perhaps an over representation of the economic and financial aspects of old-age at the apparent expense of delimiting the multifold and detailed contributions from the more orthodox behavioral-science sources.

Nevertheless, this is a most useful and worthwhile compilation on the dif-

ficult subject of social gerontology, and is recommended as a beginning reference for those interested in the problem of aging. In sum, the book measures up reasonably well to the author's expressed design of the book for use in "courses in gerontology and geriatrics, as a supplementary textbook for courses on population, social problems, and social legislation, and as an up-to-date survey for all who are concerned with the problems of the aged."

E. Garity Jaco

The University of Texas
Medical Branch

JAMES M. SMITH and PAUL L. MURPHY (eds.): *Liberty and Justice: A Historical Record of American Constitutional Development*. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1958. 566 pages. \$6.75.

There is no dearth of books of "readings" in American history and government, but there is always room for a worthy addition. This collection of documents tracing the growth of constitutional government in America is of a caliber to make it welcome. The scope is more expansive than most compilations in the same area. It comprises some 276 selections arranged chronologically and, within the designated chronological period, topically as well, with the expectation that they may serve not only to "supply a framework of historical continuity and perspective but also to present persistent problems which may illuminate contemporary issues."

Chronologically, the selected documents reach from the Charter of Virginia of 1606 to the 1956 "Statement

by One Hundred Leading Lawyers About Recent Attacks on the Supreme Court." Included are 150 court decisions, basic historic documents, Congressional debates, Presidential papers, and excerpts from letters and publications contemporaneous with the period under survey. The selections are organized into twenty-eight chapters with brief introductions by the editors at the beginning of each. Twelve of the chapters pertain to the pre-Civil War period, eight to the years 1865-1930, and eight are devoted to the eventful years from the New Deal era to 1956.

The declared aim of the editors is to "illuminate some of the historic problems encountered in working out a system of ordered liberty in the United States." Because they view American constitutional development as composed primarily of pragmatic constituents, the editors have consciously chosen items illustrative of those problems which they consider "practical." Actually, theory too has its day, with such theorists as Locke, Wise, Jefferson, Taylor, and Calhoun being represented.

In order to include as many selections as possible, it was found necessary to edit many of the documents rather severely. Likely for the same reason, the introductions to some chapters are unduly brief to give the desired background and continuity. However, under the circumstances this is to be expected; for the coverage is broad and the choice of documents is good. The volume should provide a varied supplemental diet for college courses concerned with American constitutional development.

R. T. Miller
Baylor University

GLADYS SELLEW, PAUL HANLY FURFEY, and WILLIAM T. GAUGHAN:
An Introduction to Sociology. Harper & Brothers, 1958. 598 pages. \$6.00.

According to the Preface, the major portion of the work on this book was done by Gladys Sellow. Chapters Nine and Ten and certain materials on collective behavior were contributed by Father Gaughan. Father Furfey "did not actually write any of the text, but was involved at every stage of the work to the extent of offering suggestions and reading the manuscript." The authors intend the book to be a Catholic approach to sociology, but "this does not mean that [they] have substituted pious generalities for the facts of science." Scientific findings and many theories are clearly, fairly, and objectively presented. The authors state that "the Catholic religion, since it is true, cannot conflict with science," thus expressing confidence in the validity of their religion as well as in that of the scientific method.

The materials covered correspond to those covered in the majority of present-day introductory texts. An omission which the reviewer regrets is the absence of concrete discussions of research methods. Where the introductory course is the only one the student takes in the field, the absence of some such information is serious, even though specialized courses and textbooks are available. On the other hand, the book devotes a discussion to language and its social implications, a contribution missing in most current texts. One of the finest features of the work is its internal consistency. Attitudes, for example, are discussed not only in a section where the concept is originally introduced, but

again and again, whenever the context warrants it. The same is true for the other concepts of the book which are not, as is so often the case, introduced and dropped; here they are put to intelligent and fruitful use throughout.

The book carries the *Nil obstat* and the imprimatur of the appropriate ecclesiastic authorities and can thus be recommended to teachers at Catholic schools. The question, however, which interests this reviewer much more is this: Can it be recommended for use at nonsectarian schools as well?

The teacher who believes in presenting to his students more than one viewpoint—facts are facts, but their implications are a matter of opinion, particularly if one is oriented toward positivism or toward some specific Protestant denominational outlook—will find this text excellent background for bringing out and elucidating his own position. True to the spirit of Thomist tradition, the authors give clear and concise definitions of their concepts. The teacher may measure the clarity of his own thought by matching his definitions with theirs. For example, he may or may not agree with their voluntaristic conception of personality, but the student will have no difficulty in understanding the authors' position. If the teacher wishes to present a deterministic viewpoint instead, or the view that human behavior is predictable but that voluntarism and determinism are equally metaphysical speculations which are not provable by observation, the clarity of the authors' discussion will challenge him to equal them in this respect. And the student's rational processes will undoubtedly be stimulated.

The same holds true for other views with which this reviewer disagrees.

Could there be a better basis for class discussion than a textbook statement like the following: "The sex drive is the basis for cohabitation. (It also has unnatural manifestations . . .)." Or another: "The Jews from Western Europe had long been freed from the ghettos but were likely to live in the city and concern themselves with occupations to which they had been limited earlier, such as the lending of money (usury)." It is this reviewer's opinion that the anti-Semitic tone suggested by the Thomist equation of money-lending and usury being applied to nineteenth- and twentieth-century facts is unintentional, for the rest of the discussion of the Jewish minority seems to be free of any similar implications.

No text in the social sciences is free from value judgments. But few combine an excellent factual presentation with so frank a designation of the fulcrum of the authors' opinions. It may well seem a worthwhile undertaking to experiment with the use of this Catholic text in a non-Catholic teaching situation.

Franz Adler
University of Arkansas

CONSTANTIN MELNICK and NATHAN LEITES: *The House Without Windows*. Evanston, Ill., Row, Peterson & Company, 1958. 358 pages. \$6.25.

This is a comprehensive description of the events and opinion currents surrounding the unusually long process by which René Coty was elected President of the French Republic in December, 1953. It is based on recorded interviews with parliamentary group secretaries and careful, extensive reading of ac-

counts of parliamentary journalists. The authors, connected with the Rand corporation, are above all interested in description, in reproducing as many as possible of the currents of sentiment which seem to be flowing within and about the electoral assembly. Their analysis is contained in hypotheses listed at the end of the volume.

The book is organized on a strictly chronological basis, using each of the seven days of the election as dividing points in lieu of chapter headings. The almost hour-by-hour account describes in detail the group maneuvers, the activities of the candidates and their supporters and enemies, and the reactions in the assembly at Versailles, the scene of the battle.

The words of the authors effectively describe their approach and comment on the book. In the Introduction, they say that they "are less interested in establishing the historical truth of the facts related, than in noting the sentiments, beliefs, and calculations they reveal." In the body of the text they have included a wealth of speculative opinion currents, as colorfully described by the uncommonly sensitive journalists of the Paris press. They also say that "although psychoanalytic theory has occasionally inspired some of our remarks, there is no relation between this theory and our hypotheses." Otherwise one might wonder how much of their analysis was based on psychoanalytic insights into the minds of so many delegates, so difficult to obtain. Many passages remind one of Marcel Proust's elegant, pages-long reflections on eating a tea cake. Further, they write, "journalists and secretaries are often responsible for the state of mind that sees all problems in terms of the games." These two

groups are the main sources of information; and in the book, many more events are seen as a part of the game—or what the DeGaullists derisively call "the system"—rather than as substantive issues and persons.

The authors have dramatically evoked the atmosphere and pictured the machinations of members of parliament as they elected President Coty. This is a most complete picture of one episode of French parliamentary decision-making, an important and rarely studied subject for research.

Edward G. Lewis
University of Illinois

LEARNED HAND: *The Bill of Rights: The Oliver Wendell Holmes Lectures, 1958.* Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1958. 82 pages. \$2.50.

In this country most legal paths lead ultimately to the problem of judicial review. Protesting our faith in "government by the people," we resort when hard-pressed to government by judges. Erick Fromm might call this the American escape from freedom. Or it may be that judicial review is our substitute for a responsible political party system. In any event, our apparent faith in the political wisdom of judges does not rest upon a history of successful efforts on their part. Judicial settlement of the slavery issue was, at the very least, unworkable. Yet this did not deter us a generation later from shunting to the courts the vexing problems of the American industrial revolution. Again the results, symbolized by the *Lochner* case and its fruition in the debacle of

1935/36, have not kept us from seeking judicial solutions to the great issues of liberty, security, and equality in the Cold War crisis of our day.

This problem of the relationship of the judicial and political processes vis-à-vis the Bill of Rights and the Fourteenth Amendment was Learned Hand's subject for the Holmes Lectures at the Harvard Law School. Almost fifty years on the federal bench have left the great judge little confidence in the capacity of judges to persuade unwilling majorities to be better than they are. Rejecting the current "liberal" party line, he "can see no more persuasive reason for supposing that a legislature is *a priori* less qualified to choose between 'personal' than between economic values; and there have been strong protests, to me unanswerable, that there is no constitutional basis for asserting a larger measure of judicial supervision over the first than over the second." For Hand the crux of the difficulty is that judgment in both types of cases turns upon an appraisal of imponderables for which there is no objective standard of values. Or, to fall back upon Holmes, the general propositions of the Constitution do not decide concrete cases. They are at best only admonitions, too vague in terms and in history to serve as criteria for judicial judgment. In short, they require not legal, but political, evaluations. Democracy did not take such functions from independent kings to give them to independent judges! But Chief Judge Hand's devotion to popular government is not naïve. Recognizing its perils, he is more concerned with the dangers of judicial legislation. "For myself," he says, "it would be most irksome to be

ruled by a bevy of Platonic Guardians even if I knew how to choose them; which I assuredly do not." Behind all this lies a basic conviction that freedom of all to participate in the policy-making process, not the validity of the resulting programs, is the crucial desideratum. Or as Brandeis put it, responsibility is the great developer of men.

Wallace Mendelson
The University of Texas

KARL MANNHEIM: *Systematic Sociology: An Introduction to the Study of Society*, ed. J. S. Erös and W. A. C. Stewart. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1958. 169 pages. \$6.00.

Those who think of "systematic sociology" in terms of ponderous tomes replete with tautologies and rich in neologisms will be disappointed in this thin volume, which is based on "two of the courses of lectures" that Mannheim gave in London after his proscription by Hitler in 1933. The book is what the subtitle suggests: an introduction to sociology.

Mannheim's view of sociology is reminiscent of Simmel's. "The specialized subject matter of sociology is the forms of living together of man, the sum of which we call society." Systematic sociology "describes one by one the main factors of this living together as far as they may be found in every kind of society." The editors have arranged Mannheim's discussion into four parts. The first, "Man and His Psychic Equipment," discusses the plasticity of human behavior in terms quite reminiscent of current introductory sociology texts, but it is most notable for Mannheim's attempt to inte-

grate the psychoanalytic and sociological approaches to behavior. Part Two takes up "The Most Elementary Social Processes" (e.g., social contact, social distance, isolation, competition, cooperation), and Part Three, "Social Integration," is a taxonomy of groups, beginning with the crowd, "that kind of social integration which has the loosest structure," and moving through short discussions of the public, small groups, local groups, associations, etc. to the state, which Mannheim refers to as the "frame-group." It should be emphasized that the discussions of various concepts in the first three parts of the book are very short, almost fragmentary, but they will have a very familiar ring to most American sociologists.

The discussion of social change in Part Four, "Social Stability and Social Change," probably has less in common with current American sociology than any other part of the book because Mannheim centers the discussion on a presentation and critique of the Marxian theory of change which he describes as "the most consistent, and very widely discussed." He distinguishes between the theory of a technological dynamic ("the material forces of production") and the theory of the class struggle. His criticism of the former is that it doesn't go far enough; his criticism of the latter is directed against the idea of inevitability.

It should be quite clear that in his systematic sociology Mannheim was not trying to create a new analytical framework for sociology. On the contrary these lectures are notable for their eclecticism, for bringing together the work of many sociologists, both European and American. On the evidence

they offer, Cooley was obviously one of the strongest influences on Mannheim's thought, but one will also find acknowledged debts to Sumner, Thomas, Znaniecki, Mead, and Dewey. Among the Europeans, in addition to Simmel and Marx, Weber, Tönnies, and Durkheim were obviously important influences. *Systematic Sociology* will add little to the reputation of the author of such books as *Ideology and Utopia* and *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction*, but it should do much to deepen our understanding and appreciation of him.

H. J. Friedsam

North Texas State College

RALPH K. DAVIDSON, VERNON L. SMITH, and JAY W. WILEY: *Economics: An Analytical Approach*. Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1958. 393 pages. \$7.00.

In the Preface the authors state that the purpose of this book is to provide a one-semester introductory-course text for students majoring in such pure and applied sciences as physics, chemistry, mathematics and engineering, and those students in the social sciences and humanities who have had an introduction to calculus. If the book has anything to contribute, it will be to this limited group of students. The Preface also states, "Our attempt has been to present economics . . . as a difficult, rigorous, but exciting science." The authors have been highly successful in attaining the difficulty and rigorousness, at any rate.

As an economist, I deplore any such cross-disciplinary perversion of the social sciences. It serves merely to further imply that mankind can be reduced

to an integer in the rigid and formalized system of physical rationalization which is sterile for the social scientist. To allow the student to reduce the question of differing degrees of acquisitiveness to " $W > Q$ " is to perpetuate a basic error of twentieth-century social science, that of using the tools of natural science alone. The only valid function for such mathematical concepts in economics is that of hacking out a broad area in which the intensive light of human reason may be turned on man himself. Somehow one cannot reverse the book's transcription and make "W" and "Q" communicate to the human mind the stirring ideas of Locke, Rousseau, Smith, and Marx.

The authors seem to recognize that theirs is the Sisyphean burden of pushing calculus up the tremendous slopes of economics, for they evidence this recognition by stating in Chapter I, "It should be borne in mind by the student that an economic model and reality are two different things." Unless one simply enjoys intellectual titillation—which calculus may be capable of injecting into economics for the esoteric mathematician—it would seem more profitable to teach the reality and omit the "economic model." The book appears to be written for the pure scientist who is not capable of reading in words, but who, like primitive man, can read only in hieroglyphics. For those who are interested in liberal education, it is suggested that even the pure scientist can be taught literacy.

Perhaps a mathematician could ascribe to the book a greater value than the economist. If so, a new title, something like "Calculus as Applied to Economics," might be justified. However, if the book purports to introduce eco-

nomics, the science is represented only by a miniature of its real body. While such a miniature may be a clever conversation piece on the what-not, it lacks the vigor emanating from rational concern for life in this world, which economics does possess and which should be evident in any introductory text.

Mary Sue Garner Staig
Tarleton State College

DALTON E. MCFARLAND: *Management Principles and Practices*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1958. 612 pages. \$6.95.

A review of a textbook must be made in the light of its proposed use. Though not specifically stated, it would appear that McFarland's work is designed as a first course in management, usually offered at the sophomore level.

His aims are twofold: "... to describe the elements of the managerial process which are fundamentally important, and to develop a rational synthesis of the mass of detail comprising the subject matter of management," and "... to present a point of view that will enable the student to develop his own creative abilities, so that he can apply them intelligently to the problems he encounters in business."

McFarland introduces some interesting features. Each of the four parts has a brief introduction setting forth the theme of the section; each chapter is prefaced by a well-chosen quotation and ends with a comprehensive summary. Thirteen cases are appended.

The first two parts, "The Field of Management" and "Principles and Fundamentals of Management," cover most of the material found in conven-

tional management-principles texts. McFarland's approach and the emphasis he gives to various "managerial processes," however, do not follow the pattern. Some professors and management practitioners may question the emphasis given the areas of planning (65 pages), organizing (154 pages) and controlling (19 pages).

Part III, "Human Relations and Personnel Management," contains materials usually found in separate courses on human relations and personnel management. Part IV, "Operating Management," is designed "to examine in detail some major aspects of business activity which relate to the operation of the managerial process in particular settings." For this examination, McFarland selects production, problems of first-line supervision, industrial engineering, and wage and salary administration. To the reader who may question this approach, McFarland says, "Admittedly, these concluding subjects are arbitrarily chosen. However, we need not assume the immense obligation of examining business activity in its total scope. All we need is some selected, but important, frames of reference which businessmen constantly face, so that we may relate the management process to the achievement of goals in business."

McFarland has an interesting writing style and he brings a fresh view to a complex subject area.

Preston P. Le Breton
Louisiana State University

DAVID SPITZ: *Democracy and the Challenge of Power*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1958. 228 pages. \$5.00.

Spitz has written both an interesting and refreshing book. Its merit lies in the fact that although its author is an avowed defender of the democratic state, he is capable of assessing the weaknesses and realities of the democratic theory, thus removing his subject from the heaven of optimistic wishful thinking to which too many authors have consigned it. In short, his image of democracy has some resemblance to the facts of political life. His thesis is that while democratic states are probably less likely than others to abuse their power, it is not to be concluded that they will always refrain from doing so. After all, democratic states do exercise power, and those who control it are as likely to be corrupted as their counterparts in oligarchical systems. Moreover, Spitz says that the tension between the two cardinal and inconsistent principles of democracy—liberty and equality—if pushed to extremes, would destroy the democratic state itself. Hence in any operational democratic policy, all that can be hoped for is the "relative inviolability of such rights." This is refreshing candor indeed when one compares Spitz to other contemporary writers on democracy, many of whom lose themselves in vague equivocation or barren rationalizations when such problems are discussed.

Against those who would argue that the minimization of abuse of power by democratic governments is to be achieved by increasing institutional checks, or by appealing to right principles (idealized democratic principles, revelation, tradition, natural law, or intuition), or by finding the right man, the author contends that the solution to our problem cannot be found by these methods alone. Their proponents, he

says, "fail to see that the problem of power is not a single problem, capable of being dealt with by a single solution, but that it is many problems, requiring a multiplicity and variety of solutions, each calculated to meet a particular difficulty in an appropriate way." Moreover, the problem of power in a democracy is not solely that of governmental abuse; it involves the abuse of private power as well. Nonetheless, the author contends that in a democracy, based upon the concept of the consent of the governed, there is a greater possibility for the abuse of both powers being checked and remedied by peaceful constitutional processes than in governments organized on different criteria. Hence, while Spitz does not contend that democracy can completely abolish abuse of power, he does maintain that it can minimize it through the development of a reasoned judgment in the people, that it is "in the interest of all men for abuses of power to be combated wherever they may appear." Whether this counsel of perfection can be attained in practice, the author leaves to the verdict of history.

The inarticulate, and sometimes not so inarticulate, major premise that underlies the thesis of this book is the assumption that the democratic form of government is in reality the best under any and all circumstances. It is suggested that this assumption is never proven, but within this qualified frame of reference, the author has alerted us to the dangers and limitations inherent in the operation of the democratic system. One is tempted to see in Spitz's analysis the recurrent influence of Aristotelianism and its concept of the polity of mean and balance. To this extent, in view of the author's obvious liberal

democratic leanings, one may ponder the problem of whether he is not inclining toward a conservative position in the best sense of that much-abused term. Sometimes in politics, as in philosophy, the more things change, the more they are the same.

H. Malcolm Macdonald
The University of Texas

ALFRED CROFTS and PERCY BUCHANAN: *A History of the Far East*. New York, Longmans, Green & Co., Inc., 1958. 626 pages. \$6.50.

This new college text in Far Eastern history, like most of its predecessors, is designed primarily for survey courses for beginners in Asian studies. Crofts and Buchanan propose "to breathe some life" into Far Eastern history, a study which they feel has been "a lifeless discipline" to most American students.

Aside from the handsome colored frontispiece of the Meiji Emperor arriving at Kagoshima and the illustrative quotations at the beginning of each chapter, the volume contains much of the matter commonly included in other Far Eastern texts. Approximately half of the volume deals with the years before 1904. Although the greater part of the book is concerned with China, Japan, and Korea, the authors have more briefly considered Southeast Asia. They have followed the current trend to emphasize domestic developments within the various Asian lands.

Unfortunately, their work is wanting in the careful craftsmanship which has contributed to the enduring value of some of its predecessors. For example, in their confused account of the early

years of republican China, the authors affirm that Yuan Shih-k'ai dissolved the Kuomintang and introduced the Constitutional Compact *before* rather than *after* the summer revolution of 1913, and they state that Yuan was forced from office in May, 1915, though he was actually clinging to the presidency at the time of his death in June, 1916. The volume is also weakened by its failure to embrace the findings of recent scholarship. Even a cursory appreciation of the flood of recent translations from Japan should suffice to deter the authors from repeating without qualification Basil Hall Chamberlain's assertion that the opening of Japan was "the deathblow of Japanese literature."

The selected bibliography lists many of the standard works in English. It is disconcerting, however, to find Chiang Kai-shek's *China's Destiny* recommended among the readings on Communist China and the *Tale of Genji*, Lady Murasaki's famous novel, among the eight titles on Japanese religion.

In sum, this volume will require extensive revision and correction before it can be widely accepted as a text in Far Eastern history.

William R. Braisted
The University of Texas

LLOYD W. McCORKLE, ALBERT ELIAS, and F. LOWELL BIXBY: *The Highfields Story*. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1958. 182 pages. \$2.60.

In the search for more effectual methods of treating and rehabilitating adult and juvenile offenders, a number of penologists recently turned to group

psychotherapy. *The Highfields Story* is a report of one such on-going experiment in the application of "group therapy principles" to a small selected group of youthful offenders. This experiment is described and evaluated here by Lloyd W. McCorkle, its founder and first director; Albert Elias, its present director; and F. Lowell Bixby, of Princeton, its consultant.

The Highfields program grew out of the development and use of group psychotherapeutic techniques during the Second World War in the processing of military offenders, a program which McCorkle helped implement. These techniques have the merit of combining psychological and sociological approaches to the change of human behavior. Highfields, the former home of Charles A. Lindbergh in New Jersey, was set up in the summer of 1950 as a short-term residential treatment facility where about twenty boys could be exposed to an intensive three- or four-month group-therapy program while they were officially on probation.

The first four chapters review the history of Highfields and introduce the reader to the Highfields structure and residents. The last five chapters attempt to evaluate the program and its effectiveness thus far. The heart of the book is found in Chapter V, "The Highfields Treatment Philosophy," which discusses both the philosophy and its implementation in the experiment. While avoiding the "theoretical and practical problems of causation" of the delinquent act, the authors state that rehabilitation begins with changes in certain basic attitudes, such as "the boys' conception of self and others as hostile, aggressive, inadequate persons, and as 'hipsters,' 'wise guys,' 'squares,'

and 'suckers.' The Highfields program is organized to change and modify these distorted images of self and other people." Guided group interaction, the authors state, "assumes that the delinquent will benefit from a social experience where, in concert with his peers and the leader, he can freely discuss, examine, and understand his problems of living, without the threats that had been so common in his previous learning experience." Probably the most interesting reading in the book is the narrative-type reviews of the sessions in which the boys in groups of nine or ten participate every week-day evening. The reader feels he is a silent observer sitting in the group, watching the group participate as a unit in the analysis of the behavior of a member and in influencing the changing of his attitudes.

The authors are quite optimistic about the effectiveness of the Highfields experiment thus far. Careful comparisons of Highfields "exes" with a matched group of boys who had been committed to Annandale, the New Jersey state reformatory, showed that during their residence the Highfields boys became more frank, more "attuned to reality," and gained in self-respect, while Annandale boys became less "attuned to reality," and tended to lose self-respect while at the reformatory. These factors, the authors feel, are reflected in these recidivism rates: 43 per cent of the Annandale boys became recidivists, while only 19 per cent of the Highfields boys were re-institutionalized. The authors' conclusions that Highfields is much more effective in rehabilitation of delinquents than is a conventional reformatory are corroborated by an independent evaluation (see N. H. Siegel and H. Ashley Weeks,

"Factors Contributing to Success and Failure at the Highfields Project," *Federal Probation* [September, 1957], pp. 52-56).

Certainly the experiment is too young and there are as yet too few "Highfields graduates" to warrant more than a cautious optimism at this time. But the reader cannot help but be impressed that this is a hopeful new approach in correctional treatment of youthful offenders.

Everett D. Dyer
University of Houston

KINGMAN BREWSTER, JR.: *Antitrust and American Business Abroad*. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1958. 509 pages. \$12.00.

"Is it wise for the United States to try to enforce competition in its foreign commerce? If so, how far should we try to reach beyond our borders? What standards of conduct should be applied to foreign arrangements? How should our foreign commerce antitrust policy be administered?"

To these basic policy questions Brewster seeks to provide answers in this scholarly and well-written book. The book is not an abstract presentation of the law, for it is written from the point of view of the counselor rather than from that of the advocate. Considerable attention is devoted to the leading cases, but the author's style and the other materials which he has included should give the work a wide appeal and make it a useful reference for students of government and economics alike.

For example, Chapter 10 contains the impressions gained by the author from interviews with individuals in more

than seventy firms about the impact of the existing antitrust laws on American foreign business. Cautioning the reader to note that no "scientific statistical sample" has been obtained, Brewster nevertheless concludes that "American foreign business is not stopped in its tracks by antitrust." Instead, he finds antitrust gives rise to "a general depressant borne of uneasiness about possible illegality."

Equally interesting is the discussion in Chapter 14 of the allocation of administrative responsibility for antitrust, where the author realistically recognizes the interest of the Department of State in the objectives sought to be attained by means of the application of antitrust laws to our foreign commerce.

In general the author's conclusions and policy recommendations seem sound. He argues convincingly that no radical changes should be made in the basic policy but that gratuitous difficulties (i.e., the imposition of legal risks where there is not likely to be any demonstrable harm to the United States) should be minimized. In addition, he recommends that proposed proceedings involving "foreign conduct, rights, properties or parties" should be commented on by the State Department before they are instituted by the Attorney General, as should proposals for relief governing foreign parties or properties, and that the Webb-Pomerene Export Trade Act should be repealed.

H. H. Liebhafsky
The University of Texas

OTIS W. FREEMAN and JOHN W. MORRIS (eds.): *World Geography*.

New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1958. 623 pages. \$10.75.

World Geography does a fine job of presenting a survey in which each region has sufficient depth of treatment to be meaningful. Only very rarely are lists of products or of mountain systems left to stand with no further discussion. Perhaps one reason that the book has escaped this bane of world-survey texts is that it is organized by political divisions. Minerals and manufacturing industries, so important in our present economy, do not assort themselves by world climate or vegetation regions. When they are discussed in connection with a political unit, however, their contribution to the country's economy and power becomes apparent.

The text is divided into two parts, the Eastern Hemisphere and the Western Hemisphere. About two-fifths of the book is devoted to the latter, and three-fifths to the former. Each hemisphere is subdivided first into continents, then into countries, and finally into regions. The exception is Africa, which is organized into broader areas such as "Central Africa."

One of the valuable features of this text is the manner in which it proceeds from the whole to the part, thereby providing the broad framework into which the details are fitted. For each hemisphere, continent, and major region—such as "Southeast Asia"—the authors provide a brief introductory section which locates the region then points out by comparison with world totals and with other regions its relative size, population, degree of economic development, and other critical fea-

tures. Maps are skillfully used in illustrating these comparisons, and the historical perspective is drawn in where needed.

The greatest part of the text is devoted to complete regional descriptions of the world's countries. Both the physical setting and the economic development of each region are treated, and a good balance between the two is maintained. The consistency in the treatment of the different countries is a credit to the editors and the fifteen authors who collaborated in producing the book. Their consistency does not mean rigidity, however. When a region is affected by a special problem, such as the language complexity of the Shatter Belt of central Europe, the text is enriched by a discussion of it.

The numerous maps are attractive and well tailored to the subject matter. An unusual feature is the sixteen-page atlas section in color. All but one of these maps show relief by plastic shading and vegetation zones by color.

Virginia Bradley
Southern Methodist University

ELMAN R. SERVICE: *A Profile of Primitive Culture*. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1958. 474 pages. \$6.00.

Service describes his intention as "presenting a sample of the major types of non-Western cultures" in order that the student may "understand something of the vast range of primitive culture over the earth." Apparently it is the diversity of cultures as types and not a simple diversity of behavior in which he is interested.

In deriving his "types," however, Service seems to equate "diversity"

with "type." In turn he considers diversity a product of (1) "economic productivity with consequent differences in population size and in social complexity," (2) special physical environments, and (3) "common historical association." Although it may be obvious at once that some diversity will follow according to these "great determinants, or variables," the author's "types" of cultures are defined more according to a set of economic-political criteria: (1) simple hunter-gatherer bands, (2) more favored hunters and horticultural and pastoral tribes, (3) "complex state organization[s]," and (4) "peasant or 'folk' communities" enshrouded by "contemporary national states."

In my opinion Service misleads the student and layman alike by using the term "type" to describe the cultures used to demonstrate diversity. Actually he is documenting complexities and variations as they exist in selected cultures—he can hardly be credited with a typology of cultures as systems.

Although Service has enlivened his descriptions with perceptive observations and pertinent criticisms of prior accounts, the product strikes one as routine, organized according to nothing more than an implicit topical culture outline. The systemic unities of the cultures hardly emerge. In Arunta culture, for instance, a reader would hardly suspect a vital connection between the totemic mythology, ceremonialism and initiation-instruction, and the economy. The procedure employed simply will not produce the integrates of the cultures.

There can be no doubt that Service has made a studious and careful attempt to present accurate descriptions

of the twenty cultures, but the accounts are thin in detail. This is a serious disadvantage, and one which the author himself points up. It is evident, however, that cultural diversity and the importance of cultural learning must be carried by considerable specific detail—it cannot be impressed by summary statements. Others who have sought to convey cultural diversity have packed much more of it into their detailed descriptions, and through quotations from primary sources they have produced livelier pictures of the life-ways.

Despite these strictures on *A Profile of Primitive Culture* those who wish to provide their students with concise summaries of non-European cultures will find it useful.

Fred W. Voget
University of Arkansas

MURRAY G. ROSS: *Case Histories in Community Organization*. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1958. 259 pages. \$3.50.

The author identifies community organization as basically a social-work process, as has commonly been the case. In the first chapter a theoretical analysis of community organization is presented, thus providing the reader with a frame of reference by which to interpret the case histories which make up the rest of the book. The social-work approach to community organization is presented as only one of several different methods of working with communities; however, the author feels that this approach might profitably be used in a wide variety of settings.

In the Preface the author notes that

"it is not suggested that any of the records that the worker or group, or community did is 'right' or 'good' or 'desirable.' This is left for those analyzing the episodes to discuss and decide." Obviously many readers, however, will analyze the case histories as "right" or "good" or "desirable" in terms of the orientation provided in the first chapter. Indeed, this is presumably the author's very intention. Many might profit more from the book had the writer analyzed each of the case histories. Two of the twenty-one case histories are followed by an analysis; however, only after careful examination does it become evident that these analyses have been made by the anonymous author(s) of the case histories rather than by the author of the book. The questions raised at the end of each case history are indicative of what Ross considers its salient features. Both pitfalls to be avoided and techniques to be employed by the community worker are thus suggested. Examples of both failures and successes in community organization are presented. Although the case histories are of unequal merit, the major types of problems which communities face and ways of dealing with them are presented.

This book is timely, for there are relatively few case records of any kind in the area of community organization. The reviewer feels that it represents a major contribution to the slowly growing body of knowledge in the field of community organization and that it should prove to be an indispensable aid to professional community workers, lay persons, and students.

Byron E. Munson
North Texas State College

CARL JOACHIM FRIEDRICH: *The Philosophy of Law in Historical Perspective*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1958. 253 pages. \$4.75.

This work, a revision of the author's *Die Philosophie des Rechts in historischer Perspektive*, is divided into two parts. The first and more extensive section traces the historical development of the philosophy of law from Judaic-classic times to revival of natural-law concepts as expressed in the writings of Krabbe, Duguit, and Leonard Nelson. The second and briefer part, entitled "Systematic Analysis," expresses the author's personal conclusions and hopes. It is Friedrich's central thesis that all legal systems are underpinned by a philosophy of law, whether or not their practitioners recognize or admit this fact. Inherent in legal philosophy is the ultimate problem of the "rightness" of law which inevitably leads to the problem of determining the proper relationship which should exist between the concept of justice and of law. For the author, law is essentially related to the total experience of a people and "just" law emerges as that which is in conformity with normative standards conceived of as generally valid by the community of citizens. Thus "right" law is seen as related to some principle of objectiveness manifesting itself in an imperfect way in the consensus of the community as to what is in reality just. The result is the author's rejection of legal positivism and allied schools and his assumption of something approximating an Aristotelian, neo-Kantian position. This is in accord with the thesis advanced earlier in his *New Belief in the Common Man*, in which he argues the

proposition that democracy can be revitalized as a defensible political concept only if the nature and role of the "common man" is properly understood and redefined in a more restricted sense than that commonly employed in political discussion. The determination of right law conceived of as consensus is thus a proper sphere of activity for the common man since as the author notes: "These and thousands of similar situations show that justice and injustice cannot be related to any *one* value, be it equality or any other, but only to the complex value system of a man, a community or mankind." This idea is expanded in the concluding chapter to embrace the international community which can hope to solve the problem of peace and war, and indeed of its eventual survival, only on the supposition that it can become a legal community based upon "the continuous common effort" of all its members.

Although one may not completely agree with Friedrich's interpretation, nor with his selection and exclusion of authors as the *dramatis personae* of his historical narrative, there is no gainsaying the profundity of his thought and the depth of his scholarship. His wide acquaintance with German sources brings to the American reader a breadth of outlook and a novelty of approach which stirs the imagination and opens new vistas for research and investigation. The conciseness of his style plus his own illuminating penetration to the essence of his subject both stimulates and challenges the reader. Brief though the book is, it represents a significant and unique introduction to the historic development of legal philosophy which cannot but prove of interest

to students of politics, law and philosophy alike.

H. Malcolm Macdonald
The University of Texas

Other Books Received

March, 1959

- Adams, Doris Goodrich: *Iraq's People and Resources*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1958. 160 pages. \$3.00.
- Adler, Alfred: *The Education of the Individual*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1958. 143 pages. \$3.50.
- Anderson, Oscar E., Jr.: *The Health of a Nation*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1958. 333 pages. \$6.00.
- Anderson, Thomas J., Jr.: *Our Competitive System and Public Policy*. Dallas, South-Western Publishing Company, 1958. 586 pages. \$6.75.
- Becker, Esther L.: *Dictionary of Personnel and Industrial Relations*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1958. 366 pages. \$10.00.
- Bennett, John W., Herbert Passin, and Robert K. McKnight: *In Search of Identity: The Japanese Overseas Scholar in America and Japan*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1958. 369 pages. \$7.50.
- Boileau, Wallis, Jr., Armand C. Stalnaker, and Thomas J. Luck: *Life Insurance Agency Financial Management*. Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1958. 294 pages. \$5.50.
- Buss, Claude A.: *Southeast Asia and the World Today*. Princeton, N.J., D. Van Nostrand, Inc., 1958. 189 pages. \$1.25.
- Cape, William H.: *Constitutional Revision in Kansas*. Lawrence, University of Kansas, 1958. 76 pages.
- Durkheim, Emile: *Socialism and Saint-Simon*. Yellow Springs, Ohio, The Antioch Press, 1958. 240 pages. \$5.00.
- Frye, Robert J.: *Government and Licensing*. University, University of Alabama, 1958. 83 pages.
- Hammond, William J., and Margaret F. Hammond: *La Reunion: A French Settlement in Texas*. Dallas, Royal Publishing Company, 1958. 152 pages. \$3.00.
- Hedges, Sid G.: *Fun for the Not-So-Young*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1958. 142 pages. \$6.00.
- Hobart, Lawrence S.: *Governor's Press Secretary: A Profile of Paul Weber*. Ann Arbor, Institute of Public Administration, 1958. 26 pages.
- Johnson, T. L. W.: *Kansas Voters Guide*, 1958. Lawrence, University of Kansas, 1958. 75 pages.
- Karsh, Bernard: *Diary of a Strike*. Urbana, Ill., University of Illinois Press, 1958. 180 pages. \$3.50.
- Kneller, George F.: *Existentialism and Education*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1958. 170 pages. \$3.75.
- Langsam, Walter Consuelo: *Historic Documents of World War II*. Prince-

- ton, N.J. D. Van Nostrand, 1958. 191 pages. \$1.25.
- Lessa, William A., and Evon Z. Vogt.: *Reader in Comparative Religion*. Evanston, Ill., Row Peterson & Company, 1958. 598 pages. \$7.25.
- Levi, Werner: *Australia's Outlook on Asia*. East Lansing, Mich., Michigan State University Press, 1958. 246 pages. \$5.00.
- Lombroso, Caesar: *The Female Offender*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1958. 313 pages. \$4.75.
- McDonald, James T.: *Municipal Finance in Kansas, 1953-56*. Lawrence, University of Kansas, 1958. 48 pages.
- MacKendrick, Paul: *The Roman Mind at Work*. Princeton, N.J., D. Van Nostrand, Inc., 1958. 192 pages. \$1.25.
- Masters, D. C.: *A Short History of Canada*. Princeton, N.J., D. Van Nostrand, Inc., 1958. 191 pages. \$1.25.
- Measurement: A Resource Unit for a Course in Basic Mathematics*. Albany, New York State Education Department, 1958. 128 pages.
- Roucek, Joseph S. (ed.): *Contemporary Sociology*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1958. 1,209 pages. \$12.00.
- Schattschneider, E. E.: *Equilibrium and Change in American Politics*. College Park, Md., University of Maryland, 1958. 18 pages. \$0.75.
- Sheldon, Charles David: *The Rise of the Merchant Class in Tokugawa, Japan, 1600-1868*. Locust Valley, N.Y., J. J. Augustin, Inc., 1958. 206 pages.
- Snyder, Louis L.: *Historic Documents of World War I*. Princeton, N.J., D. Van Nostrand, Inc., 1958. 192 pages. \$1.25.
- Solberg, Winton U.: *The Federal Convention and the Formation of the Union of the American States*. New York, The Liberal Arts Press, 1958. 409 pages. \$1.75.
- Summary Report of 1957-58 Studies in State Aid to School Districts*. Albany, University of State of New York, 1958. 111 pages.
- The United States and Africa*. New York, The American Assembly, Columbia University, 1958. 252 pages. \$1.00.
- White, John P.: *Michigan Votes: Election Statistics*. Ann Arbor, Institute of Public Administration, 1958. 128 pages.

Preliminary Program Annual Convention

The Southwestern Social Science Association, Friday and Saturday,
March 27-28, 1959. *General Headquarters:* Hotel Galvez, Gal-
veston, Texas

Thursday Evening, March 26

Meeting of the Executive Council of the
Southwestern Social Science Associ-
ation

8:30 P.M.

Director's Room

Friday Morning, March 27

ACCOUNTING

Friday, 9:00 A.M. *Anchor Room*

Joint session with Southwestern Section
of the American Accounting Associ-
ation

Chairman: Paul LaGrone, University of
Arkansas

1. "Management Services by Certified
Public Accountants," Fred Norwood,
Texas Technological College

Discussion: To be announced

2. "Linear Programming and the Ac-
countant," Othel D. Westfall, Uni-
versity of Oklahoma

Discussion: To be announced

AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

Friday, 9:00 A.M. *Parlor A*

Chairman: J. Wayland Bennett, Texas
Technological College

Opening Remarks: John H. Southern,
Texas Agricultural Research Service,
College Station, Texas

1. "Agriculture's Capacity to Produce,
to Adjust to Market Demands, and
the Problems of Farm Surpluses,"

James S. Plaxico, Oklahoma State
University

Discussion: R. J. Hildreth, Texas
Agricultural Experiment Station;
Troy Mullins, Agricultural Research
Service, University of Arkansas;
A. B. Wooten, Texas Extension
Service

BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

Friday, 9:00 A.M. *Parlor B*

Joint session of Business Administra-
tion and Business Research

Chairman: Eugene L. Swearingen, Ok-
lahoma State University

General Topic: "Research in the Col-
lege of Business Administration"

1. "The Role of Research in the Col-
lege of Business Administration,"
Thomas H. Carroll, vice-president,
the Ford Foundation

2. "Recent Developments in the Scope
and Method of Business and Eco-
nomic Research," Benjamin Higgins,
Massachusetts Institute of Tech-
nology

Discussion: Program speakers; Paul
V. Grambach, Tulane University;
John R. Stockton, University of
Texas

BUSINESS RESEARCH

Friday, 9:00 A.M. *Parlor B*

Joint session of Business Research
and Business Administration

ECONOMICS

Friday, 8:45 A.M. *Grecian Room,
Center*

Chairman: Robert L. Rouse, Texas Technological College

1. "Economic Problems before Us," Solomon Fabricant, director of research, National Bureau of Economic Research, New York
2. Discussion: *To be announced*
3. "The Time Gap between Research and Its Application," Jim E. Reese, staff economist, Joint Council on Economic Education, New York
4. Discussion: *To be announced*

Friday, 10:00 A.M.

1. "The Term Structure of Yields, Financial Intermediaries, and Contracyclical Monetary Policy," Stephen McDonald, Louisiana State University
2. "Price Change and Repressed Inflation," John J. Klein, Oklahoma State University
3. "A Critical Evaluation of Current Public-Debt Theory," Lester S. Levy, Texas Technological College
4. "An Analysis of the Proportion of Union Members in Texas Bargaining Units," Frederic Meyers, University of California (Los Angeles)
5. General discussion

GEOGRAPHY

Friday, 8:30 A.M. *Palm Room*

Chairman: Lorrin Kennamer, University of Texas

General Topic: "Regional Planning"

1. "Federal Resources Management in Transhumance Regions," Jacquelyn Beyer, University of Texas
2. "Normative Problems Involved in the Evaluation of Water-Resources

Projects," Allen V. Kneese, Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City

3. "The Louisiana Intracoastal Seaway Plan," Conrad Joyner, Southwestern Louisiana Institute
4. "Research Problems in River-Basin Development," Ernest Lucero, University of Texas
5. "Some Rural and Urban Landscapes of the U.S.S.R.," Thomas C. Cook, Texas College of Arts and Industries

GOVERNMENT

Friday, 9:00 A.M. *Grecian Room,
West Wing*

Chairman: Ray J. Kelley, University of St. Thomas

General Topic: "Social and Political Problems of Public Administration in Underdeveloped Areas"

1. "China," Oliver Benson, University of Oklahoma
 2. "Bolivia," Lee S. Greene, University of Tennessee
 3. "Iran," Gholam H. Razi, University of Houston
- Discussion: August O. Spain, Texas Christian University

HISTORY

Friday, 8:30 A.M. *Grecian Room,
East Wing*

Chairman: Herbert P. Gambrell, Southern Methodist University

General Topic: "The Southwest"

1. "The Yankee Builders of the Texas Capitol," Lawrence L. Graves, Texas Technological College
 2. "Validating the Caddo Land Cession of 1835," G. W. McGinty, Louisiana Polytechnic Institute
- Discussion: Ralph W. Steen, Stephen F. Austin State College; Donald J. Berthrong, University of Oklahoma

Friday, 10:00 A.M.

Chairman: W. M. Pearce, Texas Technological College

General Topic: "European Diplomacy"

1. "The Near Eastern Question and the Vienna Conference, 1821-1822," Irby C. Nichols, Jr., North Texas State College
 2. "The French Security Policy at the Paris Conference in 1919," James C. Harvey, Texas Western College
 3. "The Austrian Reaction to the Treaty of St. Germain," J. Claude Roberts, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College
- Discussion: R. John Rath, University of Texas

SOCIOLOGY

Friday, 8:15 A.M. *Terrace Room*

Chairman: Forrest E. Laviolette, Tulane University

General Topic: "Research in Medical Sociology"

1. "The Detailman—Sociological Unknown," Norman G. Hawkins, University of Texas Medical Branch
2. "The Doctors' Hospital," George K. Floro, Berea College
3. "The Role of the Father in Child-birth: A Cross-Cultural Perspective," Sam Schulman, University of Texas School of Nursing
4. "Social Participation in Formal and Informal Groups as a Factor in Prenatal Clinics," Julio C. Rivera, Texas Technological College

Friday, 9:30 A.M.

Chairman: Samuel W. Bloom, Baylor University College of Medicine

General Topic: "Contributions to General Sociological Theory from the Sociology of Medicine"

Panel members: E. Gartley Jaco, Uni-

versity of Texas Medical Branch; C. D. Whatley, University of Oklahoma; Howard Kaplan, Baylor University of Medicine

Friday, 10:45 A.M.

Chairman: Paul Walter, Jr., University of New Mexico

General Topic: "Social Organization"

1. "Drought and Farm Migration," R. L. Skrabanek, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College
2. "Blueprint for Social and Economic Warfare against China," Fenton Keyes, Texas Woman's University
3. "Dating Practices at L.S.U.," Marion B. Smith, Louisiana State University

Friday, 12:00 Noon

CONFERENCE LUNCHEON

Terrace Room

Presiding: Alfred B. Sears, first vice-president, University of Oklahoma

President's Statement: Walter T. Watson, Southern Methodist University

Conference Address: Willis M. Tate, president, Southern Methodist University

Friday Afternoon, March 27

ACCOUNTING

Friday, 2:00 P.M. *Anchor Room*

Chairman: Fran Jabara, University of Wichita

1. "Social Responsibility of the Certified Public Account," Roderick L. Holmes, Baylor University
- Discussion: *To be announced*
2. *Program to be arranged*

AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

Friday, 1:15 P.M. *Parlor A*

Chairman: H. J. Meenen, University of Arkansas

1. "A Concept of Research for an Integrated Production—Marketing System in Agriculture," Jarvis H. Miller and Donald Moore, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station

Discussion: Lee R. Martin, University of Arkansas; E. P. Roy, Louisiana State University; Loyd Bergsma, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College

Chairman: Tyrus R. Timm, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College

2. "Interdependence of Population and Economic Variables in Explaining Differential Rates of Economic Development," W. B. Bach and James D. Tarver, Oklahoma State University

Discussion: A. L. Bertrand, Louisiana State University; Ray W. Billingsley, Texas Technological College

BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

Friday, 2:00 P.M. *Director's Room*

Chairman: Ike Harrison, Texas Christian University

General Topic: "Teaching Techniques for Business Administration"

1. "Objectives and Accomplishments of the Southern Case Writers," Ralph B. Thompson, University of Florida

Discussion: Burnard Sord, University of Texas

2. "The Business Game as a Pedagogical Technique," Leon Megginson, Louisiana State University

3. "Visual Teaching Supplements," to be announced

BUSINESS RESEARCH

Friday, 2:00 P.M. *Parlor B*

Chairman: Francis Boyer, Louisiana State University

General Topic: "Business and Economic Research in Industry"

1. "The Development, Operation, and Organization of Central Research Staffs in Industry," John G. McLean, vice-president, Continental Oil Company

Panel discussion: Chairman; program speaker; Harry Williams, University of Houston; A. W. Wortham, Texas Instruments, Inc.

ECONOMICS

Friday, 2:00 P.M. *Grecian Room, Center*

Chairman: Irvin K. Zingler, University of Houston

General Topic: "Problems of Economic Development in Foreign Countries"

1. "Land Reform in Iraq," Warren E. Adams, University of Texas
2. "Role of Foreign Investment in the Economic Growth of Chile," Eric N. Baklanoff, Louisiana State University
3. "Monetary and Fiscal Policies in Latin America," Dale L. Cramer, University of Alabama
4. "Volume of World Trade: Comparative Costs and Economic Development," Joel W. Sailors, University of Houston
5. General discussion
6. Business meeting

GEOGRAPHY

Friday, 2:00 P.M. *Palm Room*

Chairman: Yvonne Phillips, Northwestern State College

General Topic: "Physical Geography"

1. "Use of Aerial Photographs in the Study of Coastal Landforms," John H. Vann, Louisiana State University
2. "Precipitation Fluctuation in Oklahoma," Arthur D. Earick, Oklahoma State University

3. "South Texas Lowlands," William T. Chambers, Stephen F. Austin State College
4. "Lost Islands in the Atlantic, A.D. 500-1500," Vincent H. DeP. Cassidy, Southwestern Louisiana Institute
5. "Toward a Geographic Orientation of America's Geography Departments," Robert H. Fuson, Louisiana State University (New Orleans)

GOVERNMENT

Friday, 2:00 P.M. *Grecian Room,
West Wing*

Chairman: Cortez A. M. Ewing, University of Oklahoma

General Topic: "Determinants of Formal and Informal Structure in State Political Parties"

1. "The Comparative Role of the State Chairman and the National Committeeman," Bancroft Henderson, University of Houston
2. "County Party Organization and Its Political Determinants," James H. McCrocklin, Texas College of Arts and Industries
3. "The Louisiana Republican Party and the Negro," Kenneth N. Vines, Tulane University
Discussion: A. P. Cagle, Baylor University
4. Business meeting

HISTORY

Friday, 2:00 P.M. *Grecian Room,
East Wing*

Chairman: Max L. Shipley, Texas Woman's University

1. "The South and the R.F.D.," Wayne E. Fuller, Texas Western College
2. "Public Opinion and the Income Tax, 1872-1873," Harold Hollingsworth, Mary Hardin-Baylor College

3. "The American Liberty League," George Wolfskill, Arlington State College
Discussion: Robert S. Maxwell, Stephen F. Austin State College; Allen J. Going, University of Houston

Friday, 3:30 P.M.

Chairman: Alfred B. Sears, University of Oklahoma

General Topic: "Churches and Public Issues"

1. "Southern Baptists and Racism, 1865-1900," Rufus B. Spain, Baylor University
2. "American Church Opinion of German National Socialism, 1933-1937," Daniel S. Day, New Mexico Military Institute
Discussion: Kenneth K. Bailey, Louisiana State University; Robert Moats Miller, University of North Carolina

Friday, 4:45 P.M.

Business meeting

SOCIOLOGY

Friday, 2:00 P.M. *Terrace Room*

Chairman: Franz Adler, University of California (Los Angeles)

Address: "Implications of Sacred-Secular Theory for Analysis of Social Change," Howard Becker, president-elect of the American Sociological Society, University of Wisconsin

Friday, 3:00 P.M.

Business meeting

Friday, 3:30 P.M.

Chairman: Sarah Frances Anders, Mary Hardin-Baylor College

General Topic: "Marriage and the Family"

1. "Certain Aspects of Mate Selection,"

Virgil Dougherty, Oklahoma State University

2. "The Family from the Sacred to the Secular Society," Austin L. Porterfield, Texas Christian University
3. "Marital Happiness and the Two-Income Family," Everett H. Dyer, University of Houston
4. "The Phenomenon of 'Second Adolescence' in Lower-Class Negro Families," Earl Lomon Koos, Texas Technological College
5. "The Recent History of the Extended Family in India," Henry Orenstein, Tulane University
6. "Changing Status of the Family System in the Far East as a Result of the Impact of the West," John W. Moon, Texas Wesleyan College

Saturday Morning, March 28

8:00 A.M. *Terrace Room*

General business meeting

9:00 A.M. *Room to be announced*

Executive Council meeting

ACCOUNTING

Saturday, 9:00 A.M. *Anchor Room*

Chairman: To be announced

Program being arranged

AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

Saturday, 8:30 A.M. *Parlor A*

Chairman: Martin Woodin, Louisiana State University

1. "Rural Value Judgments as Principles of Social Organization," John M. Brewster, Farm Economics Research Division, Agricultural Research Service, Washington
Discussion: Chairman; Frank Miller, University of Missouri; W. L. Dorries, East Texas State College; Robert L. Skrabanek, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College

BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

Saturday, 9:00 A.M. *Director's Room*

Chairman: Eugene H. Hughes, University of Houston

General Topic: "Current Developments in Business Administration, A Report and Analysis of the Ford Foundation Study"

Panel: A. S. Lang, Baylor University; Herbert Hamilton, Southwestern Louisiana Institute

BUSINESS RESEARCH

Saturday, 9:00 A.M.

Parlor B

Chairman: Paul H. Rigby, University of Houston

General Topic: "Developments in Business Research"

1. "The Implications of the New Research Techniques for Business Research and the College of Business Administration's Curriculum," Francis B. May, University of Texas
2. "Research in the Southwest," panel of bureau directors from Arkansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas

ECONOMICS and HISTORY

Saturday, 9:00 A.M. *Grecian Room, Center*

Joint meeting

Chairman: James Taylor, Southwest Texas State College

1. "Contradictory Elements in the American Political System in the Age of Jackson," Gordon E. Parks, North Texas State College
Discussion: M. L. Dillon, Texas Technological College
2. "The Economic Philosophy of the United States in the Twentieth Century," Mary Sue Staig, Tarleton State College

Discussion: R. B. Melton, North Texas State College

3. "Economic Warfare of Red China in Southeast Asia," Henry Chen, University of Houston

Discussion: *To be announced*

GEOGRAPHY

Saturday, 9:00 A.M. *Palm Room*

Chairman: Charles M. Strack, Henderson State Teachers College

General Topic: "Economic Geography"

1. "Some Recent Changes in Population in New Mexico," James I. Culbert, New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts
2. "The Louisiana Coffee-Roasting Industry," Robert M. Crisler, Southwestern Louisiana Institute
3. "Historical Development of Boat Types on the Mississippi," John A. Johnson, Louisiana State University
4. "Geographic Aspects of the Mink Industry in Oregon," Robert Dolan, Louisiana State University
5. "Reilly's 'Law' Applied to a Christaller Hexagonal Urban Hierarchy," Kenneth D. Riley and Ralph E. Birchard, Oklahoma State University

[A field trip in the Galveston-Houston area is under consideration. Any member of the Association will be welcome.]

GOVERNMENT

Saturday, 9:00 A.M. *Grecian Room, West Wing*

Chairman: John M. Claunch, Southern Methodist University

Roundtable Discussion: "Revision of the Texas Constitution"

Panel: W. E. Benton, Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas; Mrs. George C. Boller, League of

Women Voters of Texas; J. William Davis, Texas Technological College; Joe E. Ericson, Stephen F. Austin State College; Werner F. Grunbaum, University of Houston; George C. Hester, Southwestern University; W. W. Kaempfer, Southern Methodist University; Charles W. Procter, Texas Christian University; W. A. Stephenson, Hardin-Simmons University

HISTORY and ECONOMICS

Saturday, 9:00 A.M. *Grecian Room, Center*

Joint session

SOCIOLOGY

Saturday, 9:00 A.M. *Terrace Room*

Chairman: Leonard Benson, North Texas State College

General Topic: "Race and Culture Contact"

1. "Race and Culture Contact in the Guianas: An Attempted Ex Post Facto Study Using Historical Data," Miriam Susan Ruppel, Newcomb College
2. "Rejection Patterns II: Perceived Rejection within Racial Subgroups," Joe W. Hart, Southern Methodist University
3. "Mexico's Social Landscape: A Critique," Joseph S. Werlin, University of Houston
4. "Reported Emotional Stress Following Disaster Experience," Hiram J. Friedsam, North Texas State College, and Harry E. Moore, University of Texas

Saturday, 9:45 A.M.

Chairman: Jack E. Dodson, University of Oklahoma

General Topic: "Social Theory"

1. "Reference-Group Theory and Social Stratification," William Bittle and Norman Jackman, University of Oklahoma
2. "Sociological Positivism and George Lundberg: A Critique," Cletus Brady, University of Texas
3. "Cruelty, Dignity, and Determinism," Gwynne Nettler, Community Council of Houston, Texas
4. "The Nature of the Human Sciences," William L. Kolb, Tulane University
5. "Analyzing the Group: Dimensions of 'Groupness,'" Bruce Pringle and Morton B. King, Jr., Southern Methodist University

Saturday, 11:15 A.M.
Business meeting

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